Daily Report

Latin America

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FBIS-LAT-92-058 *25 March 1992*

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Argentina

NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS reports that a police bomb squad evacuated the commercial management office and the central broadcasting station of Channel 9 when a patrolman discovered a bomb on a pile of debris. In a later report, the "self-styled People's Revolutionary Organization claimed responsibility for several small bombs left at various places in the capital."

Venezuela

AFP reports that "several members of President Perez' economic team presented their resignations in the last 24 hours." According to the report, opposition parties have asked Congress to vote to censure the Perez economic team. The resignation of Central Bank President Miguel Rodriguez, the "mastermind of the harsh neo-liberal economic plan Perez has been applying for the past three years," has been "officially denied." However, "Presidential Palace sources" have told AFP that the finance, agriculture and planning ministers "have their resignations ready."

Colombia

Santa Fe de Bogota radio broadcasts a live panel discussion from Tlaxcala, Mexico with Presidential Peace Adviser Horacio Serpa Uribe, CNGSB Representative Alfonso Cano, Popular Liberation Army Representative Diego Ruiz, and National Planning Director Armando Montenegro. The participants are asked by the host to comment on the impact of the kidnapping and death of former Minister Argelino Duran Quintero on peace talks between the Colombian Government and the CNGSB. Serpa states that President Gaviria is "disheartened" by the situation. In a later report on Santa Fe de Bogota TV, Serpa says "there has been no decision regarding resumption of the talks." Serpa says, "Drs. Gilberto Echeverri, Hector Rivera, and I have informed the president and the ministers that, in our opinion, the guerrillas represented at the negotiating table in Tlaxcala had no information about Dr. Duran's death."

Drug Meeting Ends; Various Measures Approved

PY2203195892 Montevideo EL PAIS in Spanish 14 Mar 92 p 15

[Text] The 11th Inter-American Commission for the Control of Drug Abuse (CICAD) closed today at noon with the approval of various measures to help in the fight against drug trafficking and addiction, which will be submitted to the OAS for consideration.

Representatives of the 22 member countries and a group of observers from specialized international organizations participated in the closing ceremony. Irving Tragen, CICAD executive secretary, and Augusto Duran Martinez, CICAD president, addressed the meeting. Irving Tragen gave a general summary of the work accomplished; Augusto Duran Martinez highlighted the approval of rules and regulations on money laundering by drug traffickers, and the advances that have been made toward similar rules and regulations to combat weapons and explosives smuggling linked to drug trafficking.

About 100 delegates participated in the discussions in which the CICAD member countries, which include Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, the Bahamas, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, the United States, Guatemala, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay, and Venezuela, had a voice and votes. Delegates from Germany, France, and Italy, which have permanent observers accredited to the organization, also participated, together with observers from organizations such as the Inter-American Development Bank, Interpol, and the UN Program for Drug Control (UNDCP).

The agreements that were approved at the Punta del Este meeting include a standard for rules and regulations on the laundering of narcodollars, which will be submitted to the OAS plenum during its next general assembly in May and will be adopted by the member countries of the inter-American system; the upcoming meeting of a group of experts who will be charged with drafting a standard for legislation on the control of weapons trafficking related to drug trafficking; a report on the current state of this problem in the inter-American region; the advances that occurred in 1991 in application of the Quito Program on educational measures for the prevention of drug abuse; measures for community mobilization in the fight against drug addiction; and measures on the functioning of drug data and information banks.

CICAD elected Augusto Duran Martinez, prosecretary of the presidency, to be the organization's president next year; and Monica Nagel Berger, Costa Rica's justice minister, as vice president.

Telephone Improvement Financing Agreement Signed

PA2103012492 Guatemala City SIGLO VEINTIUNO in Spanish 20 Mar 92 p 5

[Text] A financing agreement was signed on 19 March between Guatemala, the EEC, and the rest of the Central American countries for the implementation of a regional telephone communications improvement program. The signing ceremony took place in the offices of Guatemalan Foreign Minister Gonzalo Menendez Park.

For Guatemala, the program consists of a digital system complementary linkup between Zacapa and Chiquimula Departments starting from Guatemala City. In addition, the program consists of the Chiquimula-Esquipulas linkup by using fiber-optic technology.

This program is of particular significance because Esquipulas, in addition to being located on the border of El Salvador and Honduras, will be the seat of the Central American Parliament.

The program will be funded with 13.8 million ECU (European Currency Unit) (approximately $17.5 million) by the EEC, and $10 million by Central America. The objective of the program is to bolster regional and national telecommunications capability, as well as to ensure new services such as data transmission, telecopy, videotext, and portable telephones.

After the signing ceremony, Foreign Minister Gonzalo Menendez Park voiced thanks for the assistance from the EEC. He also pointed out the importance of a more efficient and modern communication system throughout the region.

In addition to Foreign Minister Menendez Park, the agreement signing ceremony was attended by Fernando Cardesa Garcia, ambassador and head of the EEC delegation to Central America; and Ernesto Gonzalo Mendez, Guatemalan Telecommunications Enterprise manager.

Final Communique of Economic Cabinet Released

PA2203031792 Paris AFP in Spanish 1818 GMT 21 Mar 92

[Text] Guatemala, 21 Mar (AFP)—It has been officially disclosed that the third meeting of the ministers of the Central American Economic Cabinet ended on 21 March with an agreement to establish and accelerate free trade in the area, as well as the adoption of "new integration concepts to encourage growth."

A final communique signed by the 25 Central American delegates meeting in the colonial city of Antigua, Guatemala, points out the significance of the agreements on financial, economic, agricultural, and monetary issues. It also supports a "program that will harmonize macroeconomic policies and contribute toward establishing a firm and lasting peace in the Central American isthmus."

The economic cabinet meeting was established by the Central American presidents in June 1990. The first meeting took place in Honduras in September 1991 and the second was held in Nicaragua in November 1991.

The Guatemalan plenary meeting delegated the ministers in charge of integration, development, and finance with the signing of a Central American Uniformed Customs Code in

a 90-day time period. In addition, the ministers must establish a single customs inspection unit [ventanilla unica], and establish a goods transit directive.

Regarding agricultural issues, the ministers were instructed to implement a regional price band system [banda de precios] for the import of yellow maize, rice, and sorghum. At the same time, Costa Rica was pressed into "considering its rapid incorporation"—referring to yellow maize.

The ministers must also establish an integrated system for the handling of food donations and the import of agricultural products, as well as the elimination of obstacles to interregional commercial exchange of basic agricultural goods.

Expressing his satisfaction with the results of the meeting that started on 18 March, Guatemalan Central Bank President Fernando Linares stated that the measures adopted are encompassed within the framework of "a new integration concept that departs from protectionist measures."

Likewise, the delegations approved the priority agenda of the Central American isthmus, which encompasses general actions aimed at reactivating the integration process. These actions are aimed specifically at the agricultural and industrial sectors, as well as services and infrastructure.

At the same time, the delegations urged Costa Rica "to accelerate its duty reduction program to avoid deferring the use of the common external tariff negotiated by the other countries."

As part of the same final communique, the presidents of the central banks agreed to carry out the payments of all commercial transactions by using their respective national currencies, the U.S. dollar, other strong currencies, barter, or "other forms of payments" approved by the authorities.

The economic cabinet urged the Central American countries to "maintain a unified position and to act united" during the forthcoming negotiations of the International Coffee Organization aimed at reestablishing the economic clauses of the international agreement suspended since 1989.

The 27 point communique expressed the conviction of the participating ministers to the need for a solid base of understanding and communication to create a Central American isthmus economic community.

Parlatino Human Rights Commission Sessions Begin

PA2403180292 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0002 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] San Jose, 23 Mar (ACAN-EFE)—A heated debate, prompted by a request to study the human rights situation in Cuba, marked the start of the sessions of the Permanent Commission on Human Rights of the Latin American Parliament (Parlatino) on 22 March in San Jose, Costa Rica.

Costa Rican Legislative Assembly President Miguel Angel Rodriguez submitted to the commission a report by the Cuban Christian Democratic Party containing over 100 charges of executions by firing squad, disappearances, arrests, and harassment of political dissidents.

Rodriguez said that he plans to have these charges investigated; he does not plan to issue an "a priori condemnation" of the Havana government.

Cuban Deputies Augusto Fajardo and Julio Garcia regarded Rodriguez' initiative as a ploy to attack their country.

"Something here is not right; it is premeditated. Human rights violations are committed all over Latin America and they should be investigated. Yet, here we have a request for an inquiry on the Cuban situation when the rules of this commission have not even been approved," Fajardo said.

Garcia described the request as "selective and discriminatory treatment against Cuba," and charged the topic had not been included on the draft agenda sent to the Latin American delegates.

Parlatino Official Against U.S. Embargo of Cuba

FL2503031092 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2043 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Colombian Senator Humberto Pelaez, during his speech at the opening meeting of the Permanent Commission on Health, Labor, and Social Security being held in Havana, condemned personally and on behalf of the Latin American Parliament [Parlatino] the U.S. embargo against Cuba. Humberto Pelaez, who is also the secretary general of the Parlatino, praised Cuba's efforts in organizing the event which he called the most populous—in terms of participants—of all the meetings held.

He also explained the absence of (Humberto Celli), president of the Parlatino, who was unable to attend this meeting due to the importance of his duties in Venezuela. At the beginning of the meeting, Dr. Noel Gonzalez, an eminent Cuban surgeon and deputy, and the president of the commission, welcomed the representatives from approximately 19 parliaments from the continent, who are attending the sessions.

Dr. Juan Escalona, president of the National Assembly of the People's Government, said during his speech welcoming the participants that in contrast to the 1980's—which was a loss for the continent—we have to ensure that the 1990's does not lack hope. Toward this goal, Escalona made a call to establish an infrastructure of agreements which will make it possible to act with the strength and efficiency that comes from unity and integration. Escalona added that the social consequences of the current crisis experienced by Latin America is worrisome and has resulted in increased inequality and

poverty. He made reference to the Democracy and Health Project of this Pan-American organization which calls for joint efforts among the parliaments of the region. Escalona affirmed that this, undoubtedly, will promote greater understanding.

* Shortages at Peru-Ecuador Border Posts Viewed

92P40143A

[Editorial Report] Quito HOY in Spanish on 5 March carries an article on page 2A describing supply problems facing Ecuadoran and Peruvian soldiers assigned to posts along their shared border. The commander of one Peruvian detachment said that his men receive supplies only every four months due, in part, to that country's economic difficulties. According to military sources in one battalion, Peruvian soldiers face serious supply problems because of the distance between their posts and the cities which supply them. Since the posts cannot be reached by road, supplies must be delivered by plane or boat which is more difficult and costly for the Peruvian Army.

Whereas Ecuadoran soldiers usually spend only one year at border posts, Peruvian soldiers may remain for three years. For this reason, some Peruvian soldiers reportedly supplement their rations by means of hunting and fishing.

Given the shortage of provisions and the fact that currency has very little value at these remote posts, Ecuadoran and Peruvian soldiers sometimes barter with one another. For example, as soldiers were being interviewed for this article, an Ecuadoran Army major traded his T-shirt in exchange for a lizard caught by a Peruvian soldier. Other items such as tobacco, matches, caps, and even items hand-crafted by soldiers are traded.

Military discipline was said to be an important aspect of life at the posts. Ecuadoran detachments are said to take part in rigorous training as well. As one soldier noted, "You must understand that here we are in a zone of conflict."

Cuba

Summary of Article on SUVP Published

FL2403195492 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Under the title "A Powerful Mechanism To Defend the Nation, the Revolution, and Socialism," GRANMA has today published an article by Esteban Lazo Hernandez, a Politburo member and the first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba in Santiago de Cuba Province. This newscast will now offer a summary of this important article.

The Unified Vigilance and Protection System [SUVP] is not something new. It is the continuation and improvement of the vigilance and defense of the revolution's achievements among our people from the beginning, in the initial years after the triumph of the revolution. It is a higher stage of perfecting this mechanism, which was organized by the will of the men and women who fought, fight, and are ready to continue fighting to defend at any cost what has cost so much blood and sweat along the long road we have traveled.

Thus, it is not a police problem that falls to the forces of internal order alone. It is collective vigilance in which all the revolutionary forces contribute to preventive work, the fight against crime, against anything that harms the smooth functioning of the revolution, and caring for and watching over our property and resources.

The article by Esteban Lazo gives a lengthy summary of the initial work done in 1990 in Santiago de Cuba Province to establish the role of the mass organizations in strengthening vigilance and protection. The text of the article details the results of the exercise carried out in Santiago de Cuba Province in July 1991, which showed how effective the implementation of the SUVP had been and served to further reinforce the SUVP tasks throughout the province.

Esteban Lazo's article states that, as has been said before, society is not perfect, and the desired results cannot always be obtained at once. Thus, there are still difficulties, especially in eliminating certain types of crimes, setting up effective financial controls, and having everything work according to plan.

The article also lists a series of measures that have been put into practice in the province, such as periodic analyses of crime problems; joint work between the courts, the public prosecutor's office, and the Ministry of the Interior to speed up trials; the holding of public trials in workplaces and neighborhoods; and official warnings issued to potentially antisocial persons. At this time, subsectors of the police are being organized with auxiliary forces at the people's government district level and at the most important economic targets.

Finally, the article by the first party secretary in Santiago de Cuba states: I believe that as its implementation is extended and it efficiently reaches every center, block, and community, as it has the active participation of every revolutionary, it will become a more and more powerful mechanism to defend the nation, the revolution, and socialism.

Diplomatic Ties Established With Turkmenistan

FL2403143792 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Cuban Vice Foreign Minister Alcibiades Hidalgo and Turkmen Foreign Minister Avdy Kuliyev have agreed, in the capital of that Asiatic nation, to establish diplomatic ties between these two sovereign states.

We have also learned that the Cuban vice foreign minister is traveling to the capital of Tajikistan today, as part of his tour of former territories of the now extinct Soviet Union.

Awards Presented for Nuclear Development

FL2503125092 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] The Center for Applied Studies for Nuclear Development received the Labor Feat Banner from the Cuban Workers Federation and the commemorative coin from the 30th anniversary of the Cuban Academy of Sciences. Results of greatest scientific significance achieved by the Executive Secretariat for Nuclear Affairs and the outstanding research and support personnel of 1991 also received awards. In his closing speech, Fidel Castro Diaz-Balart, the executive secretary of the Cuban Atomic Energy Commission, noted the more than 90 scientific and technical results obtained by the center in only four and a half years, as well as the important tasks it must undertake in our country's current situation.

Official Interviewed on Agricultural Distribution

FL2403230892 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Havana residents witness every day the quantity of agricultural products arriving at neighborhood and agriculture markets in Havana City. Despite this, there are distribution problems in some locations where the products are not arriving in the same quantities. With this in mind, I talked with Osvaldo Gonzalez Lopez, director of the State Collection Enterprise of Havana City:

[Begin Gonzalez recording] This is happening because we are distributing products to many more units. Distribution is much more equitable since it is reaching more than 1,200 units; last year we were reaching less than half of these units. Difficulties crop up occasionally during distribution. When you distribute products to the market sector, the commerce sector, you discover that the market goods are more difficult to supply. Sometimes, you arrive at a market with tomatoes and that unit is distributing potatoes and has no space for 100 boxes of

tomatoes. Commerce units shutdown between 1300 and 1600, sometimes the truck arrives during that time and the unit is closed, then there is a delay in distribution due to that reason. [end recording]

If we measure work by the amount of products arriving in Havana from the agriculture sector, it could be said that from the qualitative point of view, the Agro-92 operation is yielding results.

[Begin Gonzalez recording] To date, we have distributed many more products than at this time last year and we expect that during the remaining part of the campaign, Havana will receive products in much greater quantities than last year. [end recording]

The priority given to the food program by the party and the state makes it obligatory to respond to present demands regarding distribution. Achieving equity among all the neighborhood and agriculture markets is not a utopia. It is feasible because there is a whole organizational system in charge of it. The campaign is just beginning, there is March, April, and part of May to implement a better distribution system. To achieve this balance is a difficult task but undoubtedly constitutes one of the top goals of the Cuban people.

'Setbacks' in Spring Cane Planting Acknowledged

FL2403172592 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1509 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] The sugarcane growing sector in Matanzas has acknowledged setbacks in the current spring planting campaign, in soil preparation and plowing as well as with weeding and cultivation. Specifically, only 57 caballerias of cane have been planted during this current period. This constitutes 17 percent of the 342 caballerias that had been scheduled to be planted by this date. Correspondent Mario Sarra Ramos has reported that in order to compensate for these deficits, the sugar industry will have to increase the average daily requirement to 20 caballerias, but that Matanzas residents do not have sufficient land surface prepared for that much planting.

Also, although fishfarming is a relatively new economic activity in Matanzas, at the current time it constitutes one of the fundamental areas for feeding the population, providing an important source of protein.

Progress of Country's Potato Harvest Reported

FL2503125292 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] A total of 2,256,779 quintals of potatoes have been harvested in the country. Matanzas and Havana Provinces, the greatest producers of potatoes, stand out among the rest. In Havana Province, one of the four enterprises with a large share of that production is Miguel Soneira Enterprise in Guines. Its goal is 275,000 quintals, in spite of the fact that 17 fewer caballerias than last year have been planted.

If this harvest is better, it is a result of the excellent work in the fields, which ranged from weeding and fertilizing to maintaining an average level of irrigation per caballeria that was five times higher than last year. Manpower has been the determining factor, and mobilized workers have taken decisive steps. Because of all of these factors, top quality potatoes are being harvested in Guines and shipped to their destinations on the same day they are harvested.

[Begin recording of unidentified worker] The peak harvest season begins in April. We have been harvesting since 19 February, and we have not had problems with supplies so far. We have sacks and cord as well as the transportation and work force. These are very important for a good harvest. [end recording]

Local Initiatives Praised in Granma Province

FL2403142092 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] In Bayamo, Politburo member Carlos Lage has stressed the importance of local initiatives in coping successfully with the challenges of the special period. Lage stated to the press that the country's current conditions mean that, practically, one cannot draw up a national plan unless it is supplemented by alternatives supplied by provinces and municipalities. He cited as an example the effort being made in Granma to produce construction materials from local raw materials, which has resulted in significant conservation of cement, steel, and electricity.

On 23 March, Lage visited the Granma materials industry complex, where soil-cement [suelo-cemento], natural cement, gravel, and natural pigments from the Sierra Maestra are used to manufacture blocks, tiles, bricks, and door and window frames. In addition, work is being done to install a multipurpose manual press in every People's Council in the province to ensure the availability of blocks, tiles, and bricks for sale to the populace. Carlos Lage also toured the Cauto el Paso dam on 23 March, which he described as a true labor feat of Granma Province.

Natural Gas Provides Alternate Source of Energy

FL2403193092 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Approximately 25 production centers in Ciego de Avila Province are using natural gas from the oil wells in Majagua Municipality as an alternative source of energy. This, like the use of biogas and windmills, is one more option being explored in the province with a view to replacing traditional types of fuel.

Haiti

American Ambassador Meets Senate President

FL2403181792 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] American Ambassador Alvin Adams met with the president of the Senate, Deputy [corrects himself] Senator Dejean Belizaire yesterday afternoon at the Legislative Palace. So far, nobody knows what was discussed during this meeting. We must point out that the visit of the U.S. ambassador to the Haitian Parliament occurred after some American leaders told THE NEW YORK TIMES that the OAS is considering taking tougher measures against Haiti and the countries violating the embargo against Haiti. According to the Voice of America, quoting from THE NEW YORK TIMES, the OAS is considering imposing a blockade against Haiti to force its rulers to relinquish power so democracy can be restored to the country.

Last week a U.S. State Department communique urged Parliament to hasten ratification of the Washington Agreement Protocol which is the only solution to the Haitian political crisis. The solution, according to the U.S. State Department, supports the return of Father Aristide to power and the formation of a national consensus government.

Deputies Seek To Convene National Assembly

FL2403225592 Port-au-Prince Radio Tropic FM in Creole 2100 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] We have learned from a deputy, who wishes to remain anonymous, that the conference of presidents and political groups in the Lower Chamber are scheduled to work tomorrow, 25 March to determine how they can convene the National Assembly on 29 March, which marks the anniversary of the 1987 Constitution.

FNCD Bloc Addresses Constitutional Violations

FL2403184192 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1600 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] The National Front for Change and Democracy (FNCD) parliamentary bloc has declared this week Constitution Week. According to the FNCD bloc, the decision is related to the notice of numerous violations against the fundamental charter.

A declaration from FNCD within the framework of the mobilization of the front for ratification of the agreement protocol was planned for yesterday, but has been postponed due to the massive absences of parliamentarians, members of this political alliance.

Larosiliere Rejects Accusations of Bribery

FL2503000192 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 2100 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] On 23 March, Senator Julio Larosiliere expressed his disagreement with the convening of the National Assembly by the Parliament's president. Senator Larosiliere has called for general consensus between the executive and parliamentarian powers to alleviate the situation. The parliamentarian met with the press today and rejected accusations of bribery, which he is reported to have accepted for boycotting the session on 18 March. Senator Larosiliere pointed out that a vote in favor of the agreement on 18 March would have resulted in the deaths of several parliamentarians.

Human Rights Leader Sends Letter to Gen. Cedras

FL2403233992 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 2100 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Jean-Claude Bajeux, head of the Ecumenical Center for Human Rights, CODH, has denounced threats by policemen against him and his staff in a letter addressed to General Raoul Cedras, commander in chief of the Army. Bajeux indicates in his letter that, following a routine police affair on 11 March, several policemen in civilian clothes threatened him, calling into question his radio and television spots and accusing CODH of being a meeting place and financial center for troublemakers.

In his letter to Gen. Cedras, Bajeux states: I thought it necessary to make you aware of this. Bajeux stresses in this letter that no one can ever know where subordinates' excess of zeal can lead when they are willing to mix accusations and facts with the habit of solving differences physically.

Journalists Investigate Colleague's Imprisonment

FL2403192992 Port-au-Prince LE NOUVELLISTE in French No 34261 23 Mar 92 p 12

["Excerpt" from the "The Stirs of the News" column: "Journalists Are Interested in the Case of Their Colleague, Paul Jean Mario"]

[Text] A group of journalists traveled to Petit-Goave this morning to inquire into the whereabouts of their colleague, Paul Jean Mario, who was imprisoned a short time after the 30 September events in the barracks of this city. Accused of setting fire to a tribunal of the peace and a military station, Paul Jean Mario, the correspondent for Radio Antilles in Grand-Goave, has reportedly been the victim of cruelty during his detention. The case of journalist Paul was denounced by several human rights organizations including the Haitian Center for the Defense of Rights and Freedoms (CHADEL), founded by current Prime Minister Jean-Jacques Honorat.

El Salvador

Cristiani on International Aid, Other Issues

PA2403130792 San Salvador Radio El Salvador Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 23 Mar 92

[News conference by President Alfredo Cristiani at the Presidential Palace on 23 March with unidentified moderator and foreign and domestic correspondents—recorded]

[Text] [Cristiani] Hello and good morning to all of you. Before discussing anything, I would like to say that I want to hold a news conference every Monday at 1000. This will allow us to exchange views with the media on some important issues. We understand that this conference was called on short notice today. Consequently, we want to inform you that we will hold a news conference each Monday at 1000, unless we are outside of the country or something urgent is happening. Generally speaking, you can just come on Mondays at 1000 to participate in the news conference.

I would like to refer to some issues that have been reported by the media. First, I want to comment on the meeting of the Advisory Group [Grupo Consultivo] that will take place in Washington on 23 March under the auspices of the World Bank. This meeting is very important because the results of all the efforts made so far to seek support for the consolidation of the peace process and the National Reconstruction Plan will more or less materialize. We hope this meeting will result in specific commitments from the international community to support the reconstruction of El Salvador. We believe this meeting is so important that—as you all know—the government has invited others sectors, such as Copaz [National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace], to participate in it. This will permit these sectors to attend the government's presentation of the National Reconstruction Plan before the international community.

At this point, we are somewhat concerned because some sectors or some spokesmen from political groups are trying to create problems to prevent the international community from supporting the National Reconstruction Plan. We believe this is not positive for the country's well-being. El Salvador has many needs, and we do not see it as positive that Salvadorans are trying to block the aid to our country.

As a reminder, this National Reconstruction Plan has been discussed with practically all sectors. There were six seminars with different groups, and the final seminar—in which more than 300 representatives from different sectors participated—was held with all the sectors participating. It is inconceivable that some people now say their opinions have not been heard. The National Reconstruction Plan presented to these sectors was absolutely different from the final version that resulted from all the meetings.

The plan was also presented to the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] on the dates established by the accords. No suggestions have been made regarding the programs. They have tried to participate in the implementation of some programs, but we have emphasized that El Salvador has only one government, which is responsible for implementing government plans. It would be difficult for any country—as UN representatives explained to FMLN members at the negotiations in December—to have a two-government system. There is only one government in the country, and the FMLN is returning to the institutional life of the country. In this regard, the FMLN must realize it is up to the Government of the Republic to implement government plans.

Even though the government is the executor of the plan, this does not mean some programs cannot be developed by nongovernment organizations. However, such programs will always be coordinated by the government to avoid duplication and to ensure that they are carried out in an orderly manner and that money, which is so valuable to our country, is not being wasted. The National Reconstruction Plan is for all Salvadorans, not just one sector. The plan is not only for the FMLN. We have said that there are war-torn and other large areas that suffered some damage during the conflict, even though some work was done when the situation permitted. The plan is also for those people. In other words, the reconstruction plan is not aimed at one sector in particular. It is aimed at all those sectors that, in one way or another, have experienced problems because of the conflict. This is why we believe it is important for all sectors to support the plan. One would have to be antinationalistic or anti-Salvadoran to object to the plan and to go abroad and say certain things in those countries that could be helping us in these times of need.

I would like to say that we have followed up on the thoughts expressed by the people regarding the increase of crime in our country. I would like to announce that we have appointed an interinstitutional commission to find overall solutions to the problem. The coercive side—the actions carried out by security and public order forces—are not the only ones to blame for the problem. The solution to the crime problem, especially following an armed conflict, must include several aspects. This is why we have created this interinstitutional commission that was approved by the cabinet last week. Dr. Oscar Santamaria will be responsible for developing this plan.

I can also announce that, as of this week, the National Civilian Police [PNC] will begin to deploy throughout the country. In the next 60 to 70 days, the PNC will be occupying their posts in more than 60 different places, in addition to those posts occupied in the past. We are also starting a program to reinforce the PNC because it does not have the money needed to cover the whole country. Only certain areas will not be covered. According to the peace agreements, we must wait until the new PNC director develops a special contingency plan for troublesome areas, such as northern Morazan Department,

Chalatenango. The PNC director will develop the contingency plan for those areas. The PNC will have a greater presence throughout the country.

I do wish to clarify something. As representatives of the media, I believe you should support the following: Crime is not a problem to be solved by one sector in particular, in other words, by the security and public order corps. We need everyone's help to solve this problem. We need the help of the judicial branch. It is a whole mechanism that must begin to solve the problem. The people must speak up when they see criminal actions taking place. We must all participate. Everyone talks about the maras [youth gangs]. I am sure there are many civilians who know who they are. We need those people to identify them and provide information. In this manner, we will all solve the crime problem in the country.

Finally, I want to mention a topic I believe interests all: the peace process and how it is coming along.

It can surely be said that the process has stumbled upon some obstacles. We can also say that mechanisms have been found to attempt to solve the problems we have encountered—for example, UN Under Secretary General Marrack Goulding's visit to tackle the land takeover problem, a topic that has been a very sensitive issue during the past weeks.

I believe we have already stated that we reached an agreement with the FMLN on the land takeover issue in the presence of Mr. Goulding. The FMLN agreed to stop taking over land as of 14 March. It was also agreed that, under ONUSAL [UN Observers for El Salvador] mediation, meetings would be held from 14 to 28 March to develop the mechanisms to solve the problem of land seized prior to 14 March. I believe that the best mechanism to further the peace process is to not promote more problems and to find ways to steer away from further conflict.

It is clear to us and must be clear to the FMLN and Mr. Goulding that the government will act immediately and evict anybody who takes over land after 14 March. The government cannot allow any sector—FMLN or others—to go against our law and the property rights stipulated in our Constitution. We have heard several organizations' positions on this issue and have urged them to abstain from taking over any more land and to respect the agreement we reached with the FMLN on Mr. Goulding's arrival.

We believe this problem is on the road to being solved and that we can tell the agriculture sector that the agreements ensure that property rights will be respected. We can tell property owners that their rights will be respected, even if their properties have currently been taken over by others because the land was unused due to security and other reasons. Property rights will be respected, and the government will resettle people occupying these properties if the owners do not wish to sell. The agreement stipulates clearly: Property rights will be respected in the country. I also say we will implement the agreed mechanisms to solve these problems satisfactorily.

Mr. Goulding has been confronted with other problems, such as the FMLN's lack of compliance with the schedule for gathering its men at specific sites. We do not know if this has changed, but we were told at the last meeting with ONUSAL members that only 70 to 80 percent of the FMLN fighters were at the stipulated gathering sites. We do not know if the number has increased in the past days, but ONUSAL has not confirmed it to us. Also, the FMLN has not presented its full weapons inventory as was agreed. Mr. Goulding has pointed this out to them.

I would like to state that it was farfetched to believe that the peace process would be carried out without problems. We believe there is a will to comply with the agreements and especially that there is a will to consolidate peace in the country. The problems that arise [words indistinct] special mechanisms to solve them. I believe most of the problems stem from the different interpretations given to the agreements. We believe the process is advancing in general terms, perhaps not on schedule, but that it is going forward.

These are the topics we wanted to cover. I will be pleased to answer any questions.

[Moderator] Thank you Mr. President. We will now continue with Mariana Melgar from Teleprensa.

[Melgar] Mr. President, perhaps you could elaborate a little on this interinstitutional commission. Who will its members be? Exactly what will it do? On another topic: What progress has been made with the Truth Commission and the Ad Hoc Commission?

[Cristiani] We call the commission interinstitutional because other government institutions will participate along with the executive branch. Participating in the commission for the executive branch we have Presidency Minister Oscar Santamaria, who will participate as coordinator, of course; the justice minister; and the interior minister. But we also want the participation of the Attorney General's Office, the judicial branch, and the public security corps, in order to find comprehensive solutions to the crime problem. I believe crime prevention would be much better for all, and it would be good if we could find such a system. What was your second question?

[Melgar] It concerned the Ad Hoc Commission.

[Cristiani] The Ad Hoc Commission will be installed on 19 May, if I am not mistaken. It had been scheduled for the 16th, but one of the three members will be out of the country on that date and will return on the 17th. Thus, it was agreed that the three civilians and the two military members will meet on the 19th to begin their work.

The Truth Commission will have to begin work on this issue on about the same day. Unlike the Ad Hoc Commission, which was formed by the executive branch, the Truth Commission was formed by the United Nations, as the UN secretary general appointed its members. At this time, we do not know if the commission has been

working or not, as its three members reside in three different countries. We do not know if the secretary general has any specific plans on when the three members will arrive in our country.

[Moderator] A question from Nestor Martinez from DIARIO LATINO.

[Martinez] I have two questions, Mr. President. Just as there are illegal land occupations, there are also illegal evictions. We have received reports at the newspaper from people who say they did not occupy the land illegally, but someone said they did, so they were evicted. How will you control this situation?

Also, uniformed Treasury Police [PH] and National Guard [GN] members are still being seen in the streets. They were seen during a demonstration, and there have been reports from Santa Ana saying that the Army is in the streets. What progress has been made in the troop concentration process? Will the PH and the GN also be included since they are part of the Armed Forces?

[Cristiani] In the first place, whenever someone owns land, you cannot call the eviction of people who do not belong on the land an illegal eviction. The right to own property is one that is protected by the Constitution, and the eviction of people who have occupied land and who are not related to the owners is not illegal. The agreement—which we believed to be appropriate—was to approach the problem in a different way than with evictions, to avoid having to use the public forces to carry out such actions. An eviction is illegal when someone is thrown off his own property. To evict someone from someone else's property is not an illegal eviction. We must examine the definition of certain issues of the peace agreements that may allow for different interpretations. We must be united in our interpretations in order to reach a solution. But the right to own property is a constitutional right, which is what will be enforced in the end.

You should know that these groups, which have close ties to the FMLN, are trying to provoke the PH and the GN. The PH and the GN are no longer active. They are no longer fulfilling any public order mission. There are people with close ties to the FMLN who are trying to provoke the GN and the PH. The demonstration that took place the other day was clearly an act of provocation. These groups came close to the barracks during the reduction and reorganization process of the Armed Forces. That is a clear provocation, and that is why we tried to avoid the presence of GN or PH members there. The agreement states that protection may be provided within a one-kilometer radius. There were no GN or PH members outside the one-kilometer radius from their barracks, where they are concentrated. We had taken steps in this regard because we were not going to allow these people to come close and create a very serious problem.

We believe that what the country needs is for all of us to start working. Provoking others, throwing rocks, and painting walls are clear acts of provocation, and they are senseless. The peace process has its mechanisms. We are continuously and permanently holding discussions. Copaz is verifying the fulfillment of the agreements, and ONUSAL is also working. We can simply describe these acts as clear provocations. They are trying to provoke people who are now members of the Armed Forces with these attitudes and demonstrations. Their goal is to provoke. We have seen in other cities, such as Zacatecoluca, that they have stood in front of the GN barracks to throw rocks, insult GN members, and paint walls.

I believe the people do not need to hear nonsense in the streets. What the country needs is for all of us to work. Instead of wasting time with these types of activities, these gentlemen should be working and doing something positive for the country. By the way, these provocations could also lead to unfortunate consequences. In this regard, we have presented—in addition to the agreement reached with Mr. Goulding—a list with the concentration sites of all GN and PH units. ONUSAL already has the list, and the GN and PH units will be concentrated in the areas where they were normally stationed. However, neither the GN nor the PH are carrying out public security missions. What was the third question?

[Moderator] Sonia Lopez from TCS [San Salvador TCS Television Network].

[Lopez] I have two questions. The first question is: How much aid do you expect from the meeting of the Advisory Group? The second is: If the FMLN forces are not concentrated within the established time frame—the deadline was extended—what measures will be taken so that the FMLN can completely concentrate its forces?

[Cristiani] First, we expect—and we hope it becomes a reality—the greatest amount of resources. We only have the figure that we believe is the maximum amount required by the National Reconstruction Plan, and that is $1.1 billion. However, this figure should not be taken for granted and be seen as something we already have. Not at all. We hope to collect as much as possible, and we will be conducting priority programs first, or those programs with which other countries have offered to help. There are countries that have mentioned they would like to help in certain areas, for example with the land bank, so there are enough funds to buy and sell lands so that the programs can be implemented. Other countries talk about helping the new PNC. We hope to obtain the greatest amount of resources possible. I believe much has been said here, and I believe false expectations are sometimes created because of reports that are being released.

[Cristiani] Our expectations should be within the realm of how much we can collect. We must not assume we already have the funds and that all of this will become a reality. We do not have the funds. The only funds we have are 116 million colons, those that the government allocated for the contingency period. Other than this, we do not have anything else for the time being. That is precisely why this meeting was called. We hope to see

what resources will be provided. At the end of this meeting, we hope to be able to say what we can count on. We are going to ask for the entire amount accounted for in the National Reconstruction Plan, but we do not know what promises will be made to us. It is a five-year plan, so not everything will come during the first year.

The plan has three phases: the contingency phase, in which we will operate with our own resources; the medium-term stage, in which we hope to obtain some resources from abroad; and the long-term stage, which will be implemented by the next government because the National Reconstruction Plan will be implemented over a five-year period. Why was it planned for a five-year period? Because international aid donors and, very often, international financial institutions—which also provide resources—have to draft plans and make analyses. It may take two years from the time a plan is approved until the day the first payments are made. These things go through a very long process. There are some important projects that have to be implemented. The money will not come right away. We will not have the $1.1 billion in a single year so that we can invest it. The plan we have drafted covers a period of five years. It has to do with our capacity to implement the plan and the availability of funds that may come to the country. What was the second question?

[Lopez] [Words indistinct]

[Cristiani] The concentration of the FMLN must continue. The United Nations is pressuring the FMLN. The pressure simply leads us to conclude that they are not honoring the agreements. The noncompliance could lead to other situations. Even though the deadline was extended, the FMLN failed to meet it. They promised to concentrate all their forces by 15 March; however, they have stated that their forces will continue to be gathered. We believe that, under no circumstances, can the FMLN say that the organization of the PNC, for example, is going too slow and that, therefore, they are going to delay the fulfillment of an agreement. We believe the fulfillment of one agreement should not be linked to the fulfillment of another one. That was made clear by ONUSAL. The idea is to fulfill all the agreements, and they should be fulfilled according to schedule as much as possible. They should not be looking for excuses for not doing so.

There may be unforeseen situations and there may be delays, but this is because it is difficult to predict what may happen when a schedule is drafted. For example, we have the case of the PNC. At this stage, we still do not have the list of three candidates for director of the PNC, but that is not the government's fault. Certain situations have taken place, but I believe Mr. Marrack Goulding, joint secretary of UN peacekeeping operations, has been very clear. He has stated that if the FMLN does not comply with the agreements, the United Nations will report that the FMLN is not complying with the agreements.

I think this is to some degree the political cost the FMLN must reflect on, if this were to happen.

[Moderator] Ismael Beltran from EL DIARIO DE HOY now has the floor.

[Beltran] Good morning, Mr. President. The productive sector met in San Miguel recently. They complained that the current administration favors the left, while productive sectors are being neglected. In addition, they requested a financial pardon. What is your opinion on this?

[Cristiani] First of all, we are not favoring leftist sectors. As I said before, the National Reconstruction Plan is not aimed at benefiting one sector but at benefiting communities throughout the country. It is aimed at benefiting conflict-ridden areas and nearby areas that have been affected by the conflict. The plan is aimed at benefiting the population in general. It is not intended to favor pro-FMLN or ideological groups. In many of the aforementioned communities, there are all kinds of people.

I had the opportunity to visit Yamabal and Berlin, and I cannot say that everyone living there is a leftist. On the contrary, all kinds of people live there. The government is trying to benefit all the people, regardless of their ideologies.

With regard to the situation in the productive sector, I was also in San Miguel, where I talked to some producers after they held their meeting. We agreed either to invite producers here or to schedule a meeting between representatives of the producers of the eastern part of the country and the government economic committee to find solutions to some of the problems. This will permit a revitalization of the eastern part of the country.

We understand clearly that the eastern part of the country and the productive sector from that region had many problems during the conflict. But really, and looking from a retrospective point of view, although some things like providing refinancing for the productive sector of the eastern part of the country have been done, we would have to determine our ability to have solved these problems before we ended the conflict. If the problem in the productive sector was caused by the conflict, it would have been difficult to find a solution while the conflict continued.

I think now that the productive sector of the eastern part of the country deserves to be heard and to receive some solutions. I do not want to advance the nature of these solutions. Obviously, a credit pardoning has effects and negative impacts on other sectors. We would have to conduct an in-depth analysis of the matter.

What I can tell you is that we have talked with them and have arranged a meeting between them and the government economic committee. This has been done to assist the productive sector of the eastern part of the country and help them revitalize.

[Moderator] Roberto Hugo Presa will now take the floor.

[Presa] Mr. President, I have two questions. First, last week an anonymous group identified as the Committee for the Defense of Democracy [Comite por la Defensa de

la Democracia] issued a document threatening the sectors that are promoting land takeovers. What will the government do to counter these groups, which are generating more violence in the country?

Second, last week a problem occurred in the eastern part of the country when Army units detained a group of members of the FMLN's Radio Venceremos, including a South American citizen. According to the report, a member of ONUSAL humiliated the police and prevented the members of this delegation from being arrested. Will the government allow foreign citizens to direct a media outlet in El Salvador after it has been legalized?

[Cristiani] First of all, I do not have any specific reports on these cases. With regard to your last question, foreign citizens are not allowed to participate in party politics.

Our immigration laws are very clear on this issue, and there are certain regulations that foreign visitors must observe, the same way Salvadorans are asked to observe certain norms of conduct when they visit other countries. I do not want to go any further into this because I am not aware of how the foreigner was employed here. Maybe he was just simply walking with them on the street. The truth is that I do not have a full report on the incident you mentioned. The government will make sure all visitors respect the laws that govern immigration and foreigners in our country. There have been cases in the past in this regard, and the appropriate steps have been taken. What was the first question?

[Presa] [Question indistinct]

[Cristiani] This is the first time I heard about that incident. I can tell you—as we have categorically stated before and I repeat it now—the government will take action against any group that resorts to violence, no matter to which side the group belongs. We do not believe the problems, at this stage of the game, can be resolved through violence. In this regard, I do want to say something because I believe the question mentioned something about those who perpetrate violence. We must determine if the land takeovers are violent or not. Yes, the land takeovers are violent. If these incidents did not take place, would these anonymous groups emerge? I think an appeal must be made to all the sectors, not just one sector. It is not a matter of one sector having to respect the laws and not the others.

Everyone should respect the law because the peace process is very clear about this. The whole reincorporation process talks about the nation's institutional, political, and civilian framework—for example, the case in the eastern part of the country. There was another case that also could have gotten out of hand—the Anamoros case. These are FMLN front organizations whose sole [word indistinct] is that they are going to take over the mayors' offices and to be in charge of the municipalities. This is a clear violation of the agreements. The agreements stipulate that the FMLN will be reincorporated into the nation's institutional life, and the mayors are the nation's institutional authorities. The FMLN has to respect this institutionalization. In the Geneva agreement, the FMLN reincorporation is very clearly defined. I believe then that everyone should respect that institutionalization, respect the state of law. We would avoid a great deal of friction in the country in this manner.

[Moderator] Maria Dolores Alvear, your question please.

[Alvear] Could the explanation you gave a few minutes ago be applied to the case of the U.S. priest, Kelly, who was deported? Also, how is the creation of the new intelligence corps proceeding? What about the appointments? Has Copaz explained why the list of three candidates was not presented?

[Cristiani] Yes, the explanation I gave could be applied to Father Kelly's case. We understand, according to the report we received, that he opposed the justice of the peace in Juquilisco, and he did not allow the judge to carry out his official duties. We believe that persons who visit us from abroad have to respect our judicial institutions. This is the reason for that reaction. Moreover, I think that by reacting that way we avoided something else because the judge [Cristiani chuckles] had something different in mind. The fact is that we cannot allow foreigners who want to remain in our country to oppose the work of judicial authorities. It is not the foreigners' role to pass judgment on whether these institutions are operating correctly, to defend them or not. These matters must be respected in other countries. I would like to see what would happen to a Salvadoran who opposes the work of a judge in the United States. I think the reaction would be similar and possibly even more serious. What was the second question?

[Alvear] [Question indistinct]

[Cristiani] This is.... [pauses] The process .... [pauses] We already have.... [pauses] The United States is going to support us. We have been trying to get support because we cannot just start without having support first. We have, however, already received some kind of commitment, and I believe we can start very soon.

They have agreed to send a group of advisers, and we will make the appropriate appointment when we are ready to begin organizing the state intelligence organization.

Regarding their three candidates for Copaz, I can give you no explanation as to why there is no list. We can imagine that the procedures they used to select their three candidates for director of the Public Security Academy is somewhat slow. The last thing I heard was that they are going to find a quicker way to select their three candidates for PNC director. We understand that Copaz has had a lot of work. We only hope that it will do its job as soon as possible.

[Moderator] We have the last question from Mr. Kenneth Murphy from REUTER.

[Murphy] How do you view the fact that Commander Joaquin Villalobos was not issued a visa to travel to Washington to attend this meeting?

[Cristiani] All I can say is that the United States has every right to grant or deny a visa to a foreigner. We know of other people whom the United States has refused a visa. I will only comment on it, but I believe it is because of the People's Revolutionary Army's participation in the murder of the military advisers who were killed after the helicopter was downed. That is what I believe. The United States is free to grant or deny visas to its country. In this case, where he was traveling as a representative of Copaz or as a member of Copaz, well, they appointed an alternate representative. They have appointed Roberto Canas. I believe Canas accompanied Copaz during meetings with the Advisory Group.

[Moderator] Thank you Mr. President. Friends of the press, we will see you again on 31 March at 1000.

FMLN's Chavez on Reconstruction Aid, Process

PA2503013192 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish 0100 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Interview with Mauricio Chavez, member of the Reconstruction Commission of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front by unidentified reporter in Washington, D.C.; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] A Salvadoran delegation went to Washington, D.C., on 22 March to request aid for our country's reconstruction. Mauricio Chavez, member of the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] delegation that traveled to Washington, talks about the results of that meeting:

[Chavez] We are quite pleased to report to the Salvadoran people the success of the meeting with the World Bank's Advisory Group to discuss the National Reconstruction Plan for El Salvador. Following statements by 19 representatives of the Advisory Group's member countries and the various financial groups that participated, there is a pledge for an overall amount of $800 million—which should be invested in El Salvador's reconstruction process in approximately two years.

We want to be very clear about this: The funds are the result of efforts exerted and the participation of different political groups in the country, as well as the participation of the Copaz [National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace] delegation, the Salvadoran Government, the FMLN, and other social groups that participated in the meeting. This is precisely the key factor that resulted in the international community's pledges for investment and support for El Salvador's National Reconstruction Plan.

It is important to note that all the governments represented at the meeting were motivated to support a plan that reflects the Salvadoran people's will, a plan that really contributes toward the national reconciliation process, and, above all, a plan that gives the poor the chance to achieve economic and social development. It is equally important to state that the Salvadoran Government has explicitly pledged before all the donor countries to allow the participation of all social and political groups in the country in the plan's decision-making and implementation mechanisms.

We believe that the FMLN has fulfilled its pledge to the nation to support the request for funds for the country's reconstruction, and all the political groups in the country must now guarantee that the spirit of rapprochement and reconciliation—which has been a key to obtaining these resources—is reflected in all the mechanisms to implement the plan. We know the consultative process between the government and the FMLN with regard to this plan is far from complete because substantial issues have yet to be settled—but we believe we must work seriously and responsibly to overcome obstacles so that all the people may have access to these resources.

It is particularly important to mention that the FMLN reasserted, during the meeting with the World Bank's Advisory Group, its pledge to continue to strive for the plan's implementation. Also, Dr. Camilo Bolanos, representative of the National Association of Private Enterprise [ANEP], pledged ANEP's participation in the economic and social consultations. We believe the international community has been particularly motivated to support our country's reconstruction process. All the Salvadoran people must now assume a responsible attitude during the plan's implementation. This is, in general terms, what we have to report.

[Reporter] We understand that several donor countries pledged to supply additional funds to meet technical assistance needs, strengthen democratic groups, and meet urgent humanitarian aid needs. What about this aid?

[Chavez] Specific pledges were made by Japan and other countries. They have pledged to contribute toward the FMLN camps emergency relief fund. Substantial pledges were made to support the creation of democratic groups, particularly the creation of the National Civilian Police; to provide resources for Copaz operations; and to fund the creation of a human rights attorney general's office, the Truth Commission, the Ad Hoc Commission to purge the Armed Forces, and any other commissions involved in implementing the agreements.

[Reporter] How will the Reconstruction Plan be carried out with regard to the distribution of this $800 million contribution?

[Chavez] It is somewhat difficult to be precise right now about the type of resources and the destination of these resources because, in some cases, the pledges were made in general terms, but we are currently working on the allocation of reconstruction plan funds. I believe we will soon be able to issue a specific report—probably tomorrow.

FMLN Assembly Pledges Commitment to Peace

PA2403193592 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 24 Mar 92

["Communique of the Salvadoran Revolutionary Party-People's Revolutionary Army on the first assembly of

cadres following the signing of the peace agreements" issued in Perquin, Morazan, on 23 March; read by Joaquin Villalobos, Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front leader —recorded]

[Text] Twenty-two years after our birth as an organization, 20 years after the first armed revolutionary action was carried out, and 17 years after our most important historic leader, Rafael Antonio Arce Zablah, fell in combat, the members and fighters of the PRS [Salvadoran Revolutionary Party] and the ERP [People's Revolutionary Army] have held our first assembly in conditions of peace, on the path to a new, democratic, and just El Salvador.

In this assembly, 155 members participated. Of these, 39 were military chiefs, 60 were involved in political organizational tasks, 20 in financial areas, 15 in representations abroad, and 21 in medical, Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] media, and special tasks areas. Of these 155 members, 43 were women, representing 27 percent of the participants.

Among the most important conclusions reached by the delegates to this assembly were:

1. To reaffirm the FMLN as the historic representative of Salvadoran revolutionaries and to work to strengthen it further as a democratic political force that defends the interests of the workers and the country's large popular majorities.

2. To defend the negotiated agreements with all means at our disposal and to consider our military forces of the National Army for Democracy and the social movement as guarantors of those agreements. We hereby express in our concern in that regard over the government's delays and noncompliance.

3. To guarantee compliance with the plans for the reconversion of all our fighters and their relatives through the assignment of lands, as well as the plans for housing, scholarships, and the establishment of businesses.

4. To correct all the defects and errors with which the internal democratic functioning of our organization has been afflicted as a consequence of being a party in times of war. In this regard, we will promote the plan for reorganization in transition, the emergence from clandestinity of those institutions that have remained clandestine and the conversion of those that have been on the front lines.

5. To promote the democratization of the FMLN as a whole, for its conversion into a democratic party with members that debate and establish positions based on their community of purpose and defined ideology. In this regard, we will introduce the principles of alternation in office and secret voting for leadership positions.

6. To define ourselves ideologically in favor of democratic socialism based on our own Salvadoran reality. This implies struggling to extend and strengthen the social property of workers, with this property being understood as a form of private ownership independent of the state. We will seek to enhance the workers' entrepreneurial skills so that, in the framework of a market operation, they may become competitive and efficient and, in conjunction with small and large individual private owners, may help to strengthen development and the creation of national wealth. We will establish a truly neutral state that will ensure democracy and guarantee that there will be no economic or political monopolies in our country.

7. To include ideals in our ideological definition in favor of democratic socialism that are based on our national identity and that defend to the utmost the values of democracy, justice, freedom, family, ownership, nation, solidarity, individual freedom, sovereignty, and respect for nature. These values have been distorted or pursued only half-heartedly. We will make them our banner, and they will be the basis of our mystique and our fighting spirit.

8. Based on our ideals and democratic socialism, we will not waver in making the FMLN the party that takes on the defense of the interests of the majority of workers or in expanding the social makeup of its membership to include new sectors that accept our ideological definition and our ideals.

9. To assume a commitment to reconciliation among all Salvadorans and act in consonance with this commitment, extending our hand to members of the Armed Forces, the Nationalist Republican Alliance, the government in general, and to all who favor peace, stability, and change in our country.

10. To call a new assembly with broader representation for September to October. We recall today, 23 March, the martyr Monsignor Oscar Arnulfo Romero, standard-bearer of the poor and of peace, whom we recognize as the most important figure in our local history and the man who is the symbol of our country in universal history. Twenty years ago, on 2 March 1972, our first communique, on the occasion of the recovery of the first rifles from the national guardsmen who were on duty at the old Bloom Hospital, said: The peace of the rich has ended; the people's war has begun. The fighters of the ERP, which today is a part of the FMLN, now say: The people's war has ended; the peace of all Salvadorans has been won.

Long live Rafael Antonio Arce Zablah and all our heroes and martyrs. Because our people deserve to be happy, we will defend the Chapultepec Agreements to their final conclusion.

[Signed] Assembly of members and fighters of the PRS-ERP, Perquin, 23 March 1992.

Town Reportedly Occupied by FMLN 'Combatants'

PA2403044692 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 22 Mar 92 p 3

[Text] On 21 March, the town of Anamoros in La Union Department—which does not have civil defense or military personnel—remained "taken over" by a group of individuals led by "former Commander Jorge Melendez, also known as Jonas."

Reports from the eastern part of the country indicate that since 18 March, approximately 75 combatants of the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] dressed in green uniforms marked with the initials of that organization and armed with M-16 and AK-47 rifles, led by "Commander Jonas," raided the town to force municipal officials to open the offices of "Codelun" [not further identified]. These reports have been confirmed by Military Detachment No. 3 spokesmen and other departmental authorities.

Armed Forces Press Committee spokesmen said that this is a problem that will have to be resolved by UN Observers for El Salvador, because according to the peace accords, the armed groups of the FMLN have to remain inside 15 pre-established locations in rural areas, instead of towns such as Anamoros.

Deputy on U.S. Denial of FMLN Leader's Visa

PA2503014492 San Salvador Radio Cadena Central in Spanish 2300 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Report by Carlos Ramos]

[Text] Democratic Convergence [CD] Deputy Juan Jose Martell said on 23 March that the United States should give an explanation as to why Joaquin Villalobos, Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] leader, was denied a visa. Villalobos was reportedly going to attend a meeting in Washington.

The legislator said the action by the U.S. Government affects, to some degree, the aforementioned meeting and the attendance of a member of Copaz [National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace].

[Begin Martell recording] Regardless of the reasons the United States had for denying the visa request, it should have considered that it was not being requested by Villalobos personally, but by a delegation, and it was requested during an important period in the country. He was going to attend an important meeting in Washington.

I would not like to speculate on the reasons for the denial of the visa because there could be many reasons. It would be best if the United States could explain the reasons for rejecting the visa request, because we are concerned with the precedent that is being set. If the United States has reasons for rejecting the visa application, they should be explained to the public. [end recording]

The Salvadoran legislator said the stance adopted by the United States is contradictory because, on the one hand, it pretends to support the Salvadoran peace process, while on the other hand it denies a visa request to a member of Copaz. This is being done at a very important time for our country, a time when financial assistance for the National Reconstruction Plan is being sought.

[Begin Martell recording] This concerns us. The United States has promised to support the reconstruction process. In addition, the United States is partly responsible for what happened here. We should keep in mind that during the past 12 years, the United States was involved in the war. It delivered millions of dollars to finance a military conflict. Now it is only fair that it contributes a similar amount to the reconstruction process.

In this regard, the U.S. Government has made positive announcements. However, we would like to see that these positive announcements are in line with the facts. This is why I said I am concerned about the precedent that is being established by denying the visa request to a member of Copaz, be he Joaquin Villalobos, an Armed Forces military officer, or any member of a legal political party.

Each organization has the right to appoint whomever it wants to represent it. In our case, the CD decided that Dr. Victor Valle was going to represent our party at the meeting in Washington. We have every right to choose whomever we want. By the same token, the FMLN decided to appoint Joaquin Villalobos to attend that meeting.

This situation also concerns us because we would have not liked to see obstacles preventing Dr. Victor Valle from entering the United States. The idea in Copaz was that each group would decide who will participate in the meeting. [end recording]

Deputy Martell explained that the United States must respect the decisions of each group to appoint the representatives who are today in Washington. Every political party that is a member of Copaz sent their representatives without difficulties, except for the FMLN, whose case was different. Martell reiterated that the decision of each group should be respected.

Guatemala

Commander Says Rebels Support Drug Traffickers

PA2503042792 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 24 Mar 92 p 22

[Text] Colonel Victor Manuel Vasquez Echeverria, the commander of Military Zone 23, has said during a news conference that his unit has confirmed that the URNG [Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity] provides security and all types of logistical support to marijuana and cocaine traffickers, who use Peten Department as a passageway.

He added that important rebel documents have confirmed a lack of support for the guerrillas from international organizations. This has led them to desperation, to the extreme of becoming support organizations for international drug trafficking. The documents were seized after a recent clash with rebels, during which three rebels were killed.

In Peten, he said, there are clandestine landing strips and marijuana plantations near the Mexican border that belong to smugglers. The smugglers receive security from the various guerrilla fronts, who in turn receive payment for their actions against human rights.

The military commander said that "during the 1991 operations, the guerrillas reported inflicting more than 200 casualties on the Armed Forces, which is completely false. What is true, however, are the acts of sabotage against the municipal refinery in La Libertad; the robbing of tourists traveling along the Mayan route, through Melchor de Mencos; and the extortion of lumber companies, truck and bus drivers, farmers, and other such actions directed at improving the finances of the rebel organizations."

We also have documents that list the names of the victims of their extortion operation, which they carry out precisely due to the lack of international logistical support. I understand these people's situation, he said, and the Army is ready to provide security to whoever requests it.

Col. Vasquez Echeverria concluded by announcing that the commandos of Military Zone 23 are preparing an air and land offensive against the guerrillas who operate in that area.

Bank Official on Economy, Ministers' Meeting

PA2503020292 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 24 Mar 92 p 6

[Text] Federico Martinez Linares, president of the Bank of Guatemala, questioned on 23 March as he left the presidential palace, said: "We reduced inflation in Guatemala by 60 percent in 1991."

With regard to Guatemala's foreign debt, Linares said that it is one of the lowest in Latin America—$300 million. Although the figure may seem high, it is, in fact, relatively low. If 80 percent of our debt is forgiven, it will be substantially reduced, he noted.

Linares said that the current administration has progressed significantly in the economic field, given that the monetary reserves now stand at $600 million.

On the possibility of capital flight if tourism is reduced due to the insecure climate that prevails in the country, Linares said that tourists of diverse nationalities continue to arrive despite the insecurity.

Linares added that he trusts that the security plans implemented by the government, through the Government and Defense Ministries, will have positive results in fighting street crime. He said that the nation's security and economic stability are top priority issues of the central government.

The government official said that one of the most important achievements reached in the Antigua, Guatemala meeting among Central American economic ministers and the presidents of the central banks, was the stabilization of the regional currencies used in different commercial transactions.

This measure had only been adopted by El Salvador and Guatemala. Now, however, it has been extended to all the Central American nations. This is one of the most important actions with immediate application that will facilitate the region's trade, he noted.

With regard to the coffee situation, Linares said that the Central American negotiating position, in relation to other producer nations and distributors, was consolidated. In addition, the BCIE [Central American Bank of Economic Integration] was entrusted with studying the possibility of making a fund available to the coffee growers at low interest rates, although it must not result in subsidies or costs to the bank.

Nicaragua

Presidency Issues Communique on Law 133

PA2403183092 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 23 Mar 92 p 8

[Communique issued by the Presidential Press and Information Directorate in Managua on 20 March]

[Text] The Presidential Press and Information Directorate, in connection with the decision made by the Supreme Court president to publish part of Law 133, which was partially vetoed by the president last year, informs the public as follows:

In the partial veto to the draft resolution of Law 133, the president objected to the text of Article 31, for reasons she voiced at the time. The president proposed an alternative to that article. Because the National Assembly Plenary approved the veto in full, it must be understood that objections to Article 31 and the proposed alternative text were also approved.

The National Assembly Secretariat, however, sent to the Presidency the remaining part of Law 133 for publication, with Article 31 as originally drafted, as if it had never been vetoed, thus disregarding the Plenary's approval of the new text proposed by the president.

For this reason, the president returned the draft resolution to the National Assembly, clearly explaining in

writing this situation and reiterating that the text proposed for Article 31 was part of the veto. That explanation should have removed all the National Assembly president's doubts.

The publication of the remaining part of the draft resolution of Law 133 by the Assembly president's own decision, without consulting the Plenary that approved the veto, will not have any legal effect whatsoever because it does not match what the Plenary approved and because it was not sanctioned by the president.

In any case, the abolition of Laws 85, 86, and 88 is not retroactive and has no effect on the work of the Office for Territorial Organization because this is an administrative procedure to review abuses made under these laws. This is a constitutional prerogative of the president of the Republic that no law can take away.

[Issued] Managua, 20 March 1992

Text of Government Proposal to FSLN

PA2503005392 Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 23 Mar 92 p 4

[Proposal made by the Nicaraguan Government to the Sandinist National Liberation Front on 14 March 1992]

[Text]

I. Government proposal to the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front]

1. Need for a long-term understanding.

Understanding between the government and the FSLN falls within a common vision that surrounds the issue of structural adjustment. This should be a long-term vision that would create common goals and stability for all of us.

The central points of this understanding would be:

a. The Nicaraguan State generally has been overextended. It is necessary to reduce the size and the role of the state.
b. It is necessary to strike against the social polarization that exists and that is becoming more acute.
c. The postwar situation requires that a series of extraordinary measures be taken and that the government, as well as the opposition, act within the framework of a mutual agreement.

2. Government Economic Objectives for the 1992 Program.

In general, once monetary stability is achieved, the program's objective is to initiate economic recuperation. Therefore, we intend:

a. To consolidate anti-inflationary efforts by sustaining monetary stability as a means to stimulate production, investment, and the buying power of the different social sectors.
b. To reach our goals for economic growth in 1992. We had initially established a growth rate of 5 percent. However, it is possible that we may have to reduce this rate as a result of the international drop in prices.
c. To improve the standard of living of the population in general. However, during this first stage our attention would focus on those sectors that are experiencing misery.
d. For the 1992 economic program to henceforth reduce Nicaragua's foreign dependency in terms of the resources that it has acquired over the past two years. It does not seem feasible for Nicaragua to continue to receive the same volume of financial cooperation that it has heretofore been receiving.

3. Mechanisms to be used in achieving economic objectives.

a. Efforts to achieve economic recuperation will center on primary sectors, particularly on agriculture. Our motto should be, A Return To Agriculture.
b. The Nicaraguan economy should open its doors to international markets so that it may contribute in part toward solving internal distortions in the areas of competitiveness and efficiency, but also so that it may better take advantage of the International Market. In this, we also include the Central American Common Market, Mexico, Venezuela, etc.
c. We will work to improve our agricultural technology.
d. We will introduce changes to our commercial systems, such as liberalizing trade and eliminating the oligopolistic distortions of the previous decade (raw material, basic grains, distribution, etc.).
e. The government will permanently maintain a macroeconomic balance with regard to its fiscal, monetary, credit, and currency exchange policies. Any imbalance in these policies will have a negative impact on the stability of our foreign exchange, which is basically the core of the government's economic policy.
f. The government will act to remove all the distortions or bottlenecks that negatively affect costs and the efficiency of the Nicaraguan economy compared to that of its neighbors (bureaucratic procedures, unnecessary taxes, unmanageable labor agreements, etc.).
g. The implementation of reforms to attain a more competitive banking system will continue.
h. Credit programs will be designed in terms of profitability and recovery. The banks will not lend more money than is available. The money that is recovered is what can be lent. A few commodities, such as coffee and cattle, will be given priority.
i. The government will stress its help to economically threatened sectors with the FISE [Emergency Social Investment Fund] ($70 million) and FASO [Social Care Fund for the Downtrodden].

4. Regarding Sectorial Programs

Farming Sector

—Support the production and replanting of coffee.
—Expand banana production.
—25,000 manzanas of cotton.
—45,000 manzanas of sesame.
—Self-financed sugar refinery.
—5,000 manzanas of sorghum.
—A $20 million financing program for long-term and short-term cattle breeding.
—Promote nontraditional products: melons and others.
—A basic grain financing program larger than last year's.
—Black bean program in the western part of the country.

Manufacturing

a. Thirteen areas equal to 86 percent of the industrial VBP [gross production value] increased in 1991 (foods, beverages, tobacco, leather, shoes, lumber and cork, furniture, paper, and transportation).
b. Six areas decreased (textiles, clothing, metals, electrical appliances, and so forth).
c. Fishing—shrimp, lobster, and fish—increased notably.

Program for construction and public investment

It is expected that there will be a general increase in construction activities in 1993—an estimated investment of $280 million—which would generate approximately 80,000 jobs starting in April or May. Of these, 32,000 would be direct jobs, excluding jobs that will be generated through do-it-yourself construction.

The leading projects are:

a. Housing

—2,500 lots at the wholesale market. An industrial zone on the Resistencia highway.
—2,000 homes in Sabanagrande.
—2,000 Plan Venezuela houses (Leon, Chinandega, Chichigalpa, and Realejo).
—2,200 homes in Managua, Vallarta, and Soberanas.
—3,500 do-it-yourself construction modules.

b. Employment programs in areas of conflict.

The following have been identified:

—Rights-of-way nationwide.
—Repair of the Villanueva Guasaule highway.
—Plan for the war disabled.

c. In Chinandega and Leon

—Financing to trim cotton stubble by hand.
—Others.

Production financing program

The logic of production financing involves the farming sector's goals for 1992, in other words, to reduce cotton production, broaden banana production, increase credit for cattle breeding and basic grains, and promote nontraditional products.

The credit totals will be the following:
a. Net credit: 871 million cordobas.
b. Total deliveries would be 2.440 million cordobas, with an expected recovery of 1.569 million cordobas between the expired short-term and long-term deadlines.
c. Long-term credit will be used to finance:

—132 million cordobas for coffee.
—50 million cordobas for bananas.
—182 million cordobas for cattlebreeding.

d. Short-term credit would be used to finance:

Agro-export categories:

—25,000 manzanas of cotton.
—76,000 manzanas of coffee
—45,000 manzanas of sesame.
—25,000 manzanas of sugarcane.
—5,000 manzanas of soy.
—4,500 manzanas of peanuts.

Domestic consumption categories:

—150,000 manzanas of corn.
—50,000 manzanas of rice.
—50,000 manzanas of beans.
—6,000 manzanas of sorghum.

Social sector

Education

The 1992 budget will continue to be slightly higher than the 1991 budget. There is an imbalance between the proportion alloted to the universities and that alloted for primary and secondary education.

Presently the universities are requesting an additional 38 million cordobas, although they are already in a privileged position; there is one professor for each 11 students and most students do not pay—even though many of them are from families with relatively higher incomes—rather they have scholarships. A few relevant points would be:

a. There will be greater flexibility with regard to the use of uniforms.
b. Text books for urban and rural primary schools will be free.
c. A total of 100,000 desks have been distributed, yet approximately 100,000 students have been left standing. Presently, approximately $2 million is being negotiated.
d. The Glass of Milk school program will resume (2,000 tons of milk).
e. A parasite removal program will be implemented in the schools.

5. Prospects for foreign financing and cooperation.

During 1991, the extraordinary sum of $1,216 million in resources were obtained. Part of these funds were immediately used for repayment of World Bank and IDB [Inter-American Development Bank] debts. Of these resources, $720 million came in the form of cooperation, 51 percent were donations, and 48 percent were designated for long-term projects. Most of the funds came as bilateral cooperation, because multilateral institutions contributed virtually nothing. The institutions will begin to make disbursements in April 1992.

The foreign cooperation expected in 1992 amounts to $740 million, of which $520 million will come from bilateral sources and $220 million from multilateral organizations. Of these resources, $354 million will be used for the balance of payments and will be at the disposal of the Central Bank.

What is worrisome is that cooperation is not increasing, and it is foreseeable that by 1993 our sources will begin to diminish considerably. We must bear in mind that our leading source of funds is facing serious economic problems, and there is much competition in the quest to obtain funds. We must also bear in mind that Costa Rica will be granted $15 million, and Panama will receive $40 million.

Europe has neighbors with problems, and the Germans are currently giving us more than they are giving any other country in Latin America, including Brazil. The question is how long will this go on. Japan does not seem to be particularly fond of Nicaragua. Therefore, foreign and domestic private investment will have to be our main prospective sources of funding. We are facing a historic opportunity to obtain resources, and it is very unlikely that we will receive our current totals in the future. The Nicaraguan economy needs to maintain its current levels of financial flow for many years to be reactivated.

6. Security problems and other tensions.

Through the Special Disarmament Brigade (BED), 3,500 weapons will be purchased. The program has been maintained to encourage demobilization and disarmament.

The 1990 program for the demobilized has, in general, been fulfilled according to the pledges signed, although we do not know what Franklin [contra commander] promised those who have demobilized on their own.

To deal with the contras' demobilization, the situation has been diagnosed, and from this diagnosis we will establish several courses of action in the following order: security, land and the security of property, commercialization, and social programs.

We are identifying the municipalities most in conflict to offer them priority attention. For this, in addition to the meager resources available to us, the Foreign Ministry is negotiating an International Plan for Civilian Disarmament with the international community.

Our successful experience in Quilali where, to resolve the situation of the rearmed contras we established a pluralist Technical Municipal Committee with the regional government authorities and other municipal authorities, has led us to form a National Reconciliation Program (PRN) through which we will extend our disarmament efforts to other zones in conflict. It is characteristic of these technical municipal committees to use local forces who identify problems, propose solutions, and contribute on their own to the implementation of the agreements.

Other points of tension are the strikes at AGROMAQ [National Farming Machinery Enterprise], the BCN [Central Bank of Nicaragua], the sugar refineries, and the problem at Prego. Likewise, ENABAS [National Enterprise for Staple Foods] has not purchased basic grain, which has prompted a drop in grain prices and disagreements with the producers.

7. Political Proposals

a. The first element would be to foster confidence to make progress in attaining the stability we all need. That confidence necessarily entails sharing and understanding several central points:

—The neoliberal model: Any economic model must be shared. Presently we are not referring to the model of the year 2000, but to more immediate aspects that deal with the implementation of a structural adjustment plan.

—Common views on methods of struggle: We are opposed to any armed confrontation. We can have our differences about modes of civil struggle and protest, even takeovers. We deem it inadvisable to publicly engage in violent clashes. We cannot reach outward to the international community or to investors or inward with a message of violence and instability.

—Keeping agreements: We will consolidate confidence if we are able to keep the agreements we make. It is important for the government and the FSLN to have a mutual understanding with regard to a common plan, while maintaining our differences, which are to be expected, and the will to resolve them.

b. Maneuvering room for cooperation, investments, and reactivation of the economy is limited. This situation calls for a climate of tranquillity, work, sacrifice, and unity of effort.

c. There is no alternative but to work for the same national plan. Three or four major agreements are necessary between the FSLN and the government to move ahead and thereby bring along all other forces or isolate those that refuse.

d. We must take advantage of all the good aspects of the gains achieved by the revolution and what we can continue. The World Bank has recognized that

agrarian reform constitutes one of the most daring achievements throughout Latin America. We must preserve this and take advantage of it so that we can envision the development of a new productive sector in Nicaragua, which would now include small-scale producers and cooperative members who benefited from agrarian reform as its base. This is no longer the traditional propertied sector. We believe we must inject the necessary confidence and guarantees to current owners. We are going to work so that the World Bank and international sources recognize the agrarian reform and so that we will not return to the Somozist system.

We have said that the distribution of property is better today in Nicaragua than at any other time, adding up what you did and what we have done. Nicaraguan agrarian reform was most far-reaching and aggressive, but we now need to make it produce and foster confidence and security among peasants, so that it can generate production. To do that we must give them land titles.

e. The value of work is lost. Privatization is sometimes seen as booty, and its constructive and democratizing elements are neglected. There is practically nothing to distribute here. We need to establish solid bases and one of them is work. The FSLN has to help in the reconversion of the working bases.

f. There is too much international competition for the same resources that we demand. We cannot waste time.

g. We need support in domestic and foreign investments now and in the future.

h. We need to put our house in order for these investments and, toward this end, we need to make a structural adjustment. The quicker this is implemented, the better. Privatization must take place today, and everything must be sold—the Olof Palme Convention Center, Montelimar [beach resort], and the airport.

i. However, in view of the adjustments, we must seek ways to ease the situation. We lack the resources to do this gradually.

j. The core of the adjustment program is not neoliberal, but actually pragmatic and dialectic. The goal is to keep good things from the past and complement them with the good things we can add—integrate an open economy with socialism. We are not willing to accept all IMF and USAID remedies. We want to take UNAG [National Union of Farmers and Cattlemen] to Washington along with Alberto Chamorro.

k. We plan to advance the revolution, not only that of the FSLN, but of all those who love Nicaragua. We love Nicaragua as much as the FSLN does.

l. Only violent incidents are covered by the press. We must help to project an image of peace and work. We need a truce of three to five years. The government and FSLN must act against violence.

m. Trust and communication must be preserved in the year 2000. One needs to know that the person next to his is likeable and will not stick a knife in his back. To achieve this goal, meetings of this kind are needed to reinforce trust. These relationships must not be limited by the current situation but must look after the intersts of all the citizens of the country.

FSLN Directorate Meets FNT Leaders

PA2503121992 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 24 Mar 92 pp 1, 8

[Text] Former Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, who is the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] secretary general, stated after a meeting with the main FNT [National Workers Front] leaders on 24 March that the FSLN and the FNT are "enemies of chaos and instability."

We want to clear up all rumors that the FSLN National Directorate or the FNT are promoting chaos within the country," Ortega asserted. Instead, Ortega believes chaos is generated by "hunger, unemployment, a lack of loans for production, the land problems of the peasants, and the government's lack of compliance with its agreements."

After the meeting, FNT leaders stated that a just and quick solution to the current conflict could be reached. The conflicts with the workers have paralyzed several sugar cane factories and the Central Bank's main offices.

Ortega, together with Jaime Wheelock and Luis Carrion, who are also FSLN National Directorate members, met behind closed doors with the FNT leaders for several hours. The meeting was held at one of the offices in the FSLN headquarters.

Ortega said he had found the FNT leaders "had the will to solve the current problems." He added that the only possible way to solve the problems was to hold negotiations. He also pointed out that the workers have "every right" to protest and manifest "their concerns." Ortega said the Sandinist leaders "have been in contact" with the government to get it "to listen to the workers and not to keep putting off finding solutions."

Ortega said the FSLN Directorate's position "is very clear regarding the country's serious problems." The Sandinist leader is traveling to the United States on 24 March. He and a government delegation that is seeking economic aid for Nicaragua have been invited to a meeting of the Group of Donor Countries in the United States.

As he was leaving the FSLN conference room, Ronaldo Membreno [organization secretary of the Sandinist Workers Federation, CST] said one of the main agreements reached between the union and the FSLN had been that the negotiations with the government would be carried out by the FNT without any "interference." According to Membreno, they had agreed that the FNT had headed a just and peaceful protest because the government had not kept the "agreement it had signed" with the workers.

After the meeting, Lucio Jimenez [CST general secretary and FNT coordinator] read a communique that asserted that, "as the representatives of the workers," they are obliged to join forces and have the right to demand an unambiguous position from "all those who want to join us or to join the government" by reaffirming their criticism of Sandinist leaders.

ON 23 March, the FNT decided to renew its negotiations with the government. At the same time, however, they charged that the government "attempts" to throw paramilitary groups against the workers. These groups, they added, are formed by former contras brought in from different parts of the country.

Borge Rejects Encouraging 'Social Instability'

PA2403215292 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 23 Mar 92 pp 1, 10

[Report by Freddy Potoy]

[Text] We Sandinists "would be irresponsible, cheap populists, and demagogues" if we encouraged social instability in this country, said Commander Tomas Borge on 23 March, during a speech to a group of Sandinists in District Five.

At the conclusion of the election for the FSLN district committee, Borge added that "certain comrades" using "quite unbrotherly, excited, and defiant" language, have asked the revolutionary leaders to define themselves.

Borge said, "From this venue, I am responding that the National Directorate of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] is and always will be on the side of the workers, peasants, manual laborers, and intellectuals." He stressed: "I do not support violence regardless of where it may come from, because it contributes to destabilization. These are not the remarks of someone who only played a historic role in the struggle for national liberation, but of someone who is willing to continue to struggle on behalf of the dispossessed."

Borge said that the Sandinists are on the side of the exploited and the poor and that to say the opposite or to doubt this "would, in addition to being an outrageous injustice, divide the party and raise suspicions among our membership."

One day earlier, CST [Sandinist Workers Federation] leader Lucio Jimenez said that he has no confidence in the FSLN's political directorate and called upon the party's nine leaders, whom he described as government collaborators, to "define" themselves. Borge asked "the comrades who have spoken this way for a minimum of respect and political wisdom."

He underscored that the "messianism and conceit of some members could do irreversible damage to the FSLN," the "real, exciting hope of the largest and best informed sector of the country."

Borge demanded the serenity and intelligence of those who have doubted the principles of the National Directorate, asking them to be the guiding lights that will lead the most revolutionary sectors in history along the correct path."

"I believe it would be quite easy for the FSLN to garner applause and, if you will, increase its popularity if it supported the calls for anarchy and violence. However, I believe that above any political, partisan, or personal goal is our duty to speak the truth and strongly defend it, the leader added. He later said that "these comrades, who have gained prestige defending the workers, are obligated more than others to remain calm and intelligent...."

At the beginning of his speech, Borge gave assurances that at the forthcoming Sandinist Assembly, the FSLN's induction into SI [Socialist International] and the Sandinist media would be among the issues discussed. Referring to labor and political struggles, Borge said, "Everyone in this country must help resolve the hunger and employment problems" that, "in my opinion, are priority issues that should be attended to by popular effort."

He added that even more important is the issue of property. He said that social instability is caused by "instability in the areas of business and property, especially in the countryside."

Borge called for "quite urgent" acknowledgement of the transformation of the countryside. "Anything that runs counter to the current property system is destabilizing and must be opposed as strongly as possible," Borge said.

A regrettable and shameful incident occurred when certain Sandinists severely beat Radio Nicaragua reporter Raul Oviedo Carvajal, and threw LA PRENSA's reporters out of the gathering. Commander Tomas Borge condemned the Sandinists' violence. BARRICADA immediately protested the incident and requested condemnation of the Sandinist leader.

Meanwhile, Borge said that "a small group of comrades—the self-styled Center Group—are harming our party so much" because they are asking the government to "repress the workers."

He said that as Sandinists they must make suggestions through the proper channels and not "talk as if they were members of another party."

The Sandinist leader also said that several National Police chiefs told him that they want to quit the institution because they are not willing to repress the people beyond the limits of the law and respect for human rights. According to Borge, the officers added that disrespect and violence on the part of the police may result in an unprecedented tragedy.

In response to this situation, Borge said that he recommended patience and much prudence, even if certain demonstrators open fire on the police because they are armed. "Never pay them back with the same coin," he reiterated.

Meanwhile, the winners of the elections are Jose Perez, as political secretary, and Carlos Palma, Auxiliadora Luna, Jose Trana, and Juan Carlos Soza, as members of the FSLN's District Five Committee.

* FSLN Goals, Structure Explained

92CA0105A Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 22 Feb 92 p 3

[Article by Victor Hugo Tinoco]

[Text] We are all familiar with the concerns that various Sandinist sectors have about the party's structure and actions. To a great extent, these disagreements are rooted in the broad nature of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN), which has brought together people from different classes and social sectors. But the differences also have to do, to a certain extent, with divergent opinions—within the same class—about how to meet the challenges that face us as a party.

In our opinion, we should have the following political referents in the FSLN today:

The Platform

The National Congress of July ratified the historic principles of the FSLN, that is: sovereignty and national independence, the priority defense of the interests of the popular majorities. It added the element of contributing to peace and national stability through the struggle for social justice. The addendum is once again a mixture of the national interest and the interest of the popular majorities.

The danger in the proposals of some groups of comrades is that they are trying, from a minority position, either openly or implicitly, to ignore the decision that the congress made in a democratic manner to opt for the popular majorities.

Closely related to the above is the issue of alliances.

There are groups within Sandinism that claim the correct thing to do is to support the current government under practically any circumstances; in other words, they want stability at any price, including sacrificing the the popular sectors' most basic interests of employment and wages.

An alliance put forward on those terms is not only unrealistic, because it will not lead to any long-term stability, but also contrary to the fundamental principle of defending the two pillars of our political creed: the national interest and the popular interest, always seeking a way to prevent one from canceling out the other.

That political creed should also be our frame of reference for an eventual National Program. Such a program cannot be formed by shifting the burden to the popular sectors. The national program cannot be detrimental to the immediate interests of the popular sectors, much less longer-term interests.

As for relations with the United States, the program approved by the congress clearly states that the effort to establish a relationship of respect, cooperation, and friendship with that country will continue. Actions in that direction should come as no surprise, therefore. Whether or not political tact is exercised in pursuing that effort is another matter.

Structures of Party Leadership

In this regard, the congress approved the Bylaws, and the Sandinist Assembly a set of regulations. If it is felt that the mechanisms of party leadership at the national, departmental, or district level are no longer appropriate or are not working the way they should, this issue should be brought up in a serious manner to be discussed and reviewed by the Sandinist Assembly.

If the problem is with the people who are in the executive bodies, there are procedures for replacing any leader at the appropriate time.

The danger comes when someone's animosity toward a leader or toward personal aspirations—which are legitimate—is hidden behind proposals of another sort, such as whether or not the person was elected as part of a slate, whether or not the leadership structure works, etc.

FSLN, Class Organizations, Nonclassist Organizations, and the Unorganized

The FSLN is the party that defends the interests of the popular sectors, whether or not they are organized, and whether they are organized according to class, occupation, or as a related social group.

The first thing we must confirm is that the party is necessary (some have their doubts) for these sectors. First, because it is a broad sector of the population with myriad interests to reconcile; second, because the majority are not organized, and the party defends their general interests against the bourgeoisie and the oligarchy; and third, because no one can give up control of government power, a control for which a union, trade association, or social group of any type cannot compete, no matter how broad it is.

The FSLN party should become the instrument of the popular sectors, through which the diverse actions of all

of the class, labor, neighborhood, women's, youth, and other organizations are coordinated and unified.

The party structure itself and the party organs (National Directorate, Sandinist Assembly, etc.) do not give orders to the labor unions, professional associations, or social organizations; they exert influence through their cadres in those mass organizations and in the unorganized population. This is how we should understand the concept of party of cadres and masses. The party reconciles differences and lends all popular action the coherence that is necessary to regain control of the state apparatus.

This does not mean that the only important thing should be control of the state apparatus. On the contrary, popular power is also built outside the state aparatus. In and from civilian society, the organized people are capable of transforming social reality in a revolutionary direction with as much or more vigor than can be done from the state apparatus. In this regard, the Revolution can not only defend itself, but also make progress from the many forms of power outside the state.

Some comrades run the risk of minimizing the importance of the differences of opinion, the struggle, and the class organizations, and of assuming that the only important thing is the broad organizations—above class—of women and youths, for example.

That means that as civilian society is affirmed, the importance of the struggle for state power is denied, and therefore, the importance of the party is denied as well.

* Forum on FSLN Issues Closing Statement

92CA0105D Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 23 Feb 92 p 8

[Text] We have received the following statement:

We, the participants in the forum "What Sandinist Front Do We Want," organized by the members of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) District III in Managua, believe after three days of discussions that the forum has been a necessary, healthy, and positive initiative for starting down the path of reactivation and reinforcement in our party.

The results of our discussions indicate that there is a deep desire among the members to revive and rehabilitate the revolutionary movement, and that the way to begin doing this is by spreading the debate among the membership.

We agree that it is necessary for FSLN members to participate widely and directly in those areas, and that their contributions should be recognized and incorporated by the party.

Furthermore, we are in favor of Sandinist unity, built conscientiously on the basis of recognition and respect for differences. We believe that unity should no longer be based on the imposition of exclusive criteria, blind discipline, and fear.

We favor the rediscovery of the Sandinist utopia for a society without authoritarianism, without exploitation and discrimination on the grounds of class, gender, ethnic group, or any other factor, which is the reason for our existence.

We are convinced that the FSLN's raison d'etre is to be a revolutionary, anti-imperialist party, which involves defending the interests of the dispossessed majorities in our country and preserving our independence, sovereignty, and national identity. We want an FSLN that has renewed its leadership and objectives, and that is capable of generating an alternative program for an economically, politically, and socially equitable and democratic society.

We recognize that many elements of the party that we want are incorporated in the bylaws approved by the First Congress of the FSLN, but we caution that the changes required to ensure their implementation have not been brought about, and they are urgently needed.

In this regard, we believe that to come closer to the embodiment of this ideal, we must face the principal causes of the membership's demoralization before we can undertake to put in practice the definitions and agreements reached by the congress.

Therefore, we believe that it is of vital importance that the membership's confidence be inspired by opening up opportunities for democratic participation and the renewal of Sandinism's leadership positions, and by taking the necessary corrective measures to regain credibility among the membership, in the structures of the FSLN, and in society's eyes.

We invite the other districts of Managua and the country to promote forums in their territories as an initiative by the rank and file to take on the problems of the Sandinist movement and its very organization, since we consider that the FSLN is nothing other than what its members want it to be.

The participants in the forum support the declaration of the 19 July National Committee of Sandinist Youth on the internal problems of the FSLN.

We express our repudiation for the government's policy of terror against the workers of Aeronica; we demand the immediate release of the union leaders. We also condemn the government for practicing this policy against other trade unionists, such as Comrade Bismarck Bravo Aguirre, who is serving a two-year sentence in prison, and Cristobal Padilla, who is standing trial for slander and libel.

We believe that the best homage we can pay to General Sandino on this anniversary is to take these actions, which help us keep alive his ideals and the historic memory of Sandinism.

Managua, 21 February 1992.

* Sandinist Youth Positions Reported

92CA0105C Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 20 Feb 92 p 3

[Text] The 19 July National Committee of Sandinist Youth has on various occasions discussed and made proposals to solve certain problems in the Sandinist Front, although we feel that our main contribution lies in carrying out our own work to implement the resolutions of our Fifth National Assembly.

Nevertheless, the problems of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) that are expressed in each department or territory affect our work, in one way or another. Convinced as we are that we are part of a new generation of Sandinist activists, despite the problems of our own that we face, we feel that we cannot be mere spectators to what is happening in our party.

We have decided to make a public statement of our positions, after having gone through the appropriate internal channels to express our ideas and proposals regarding the various problems that we have identified in Sandinism at different points, and not having seen any effort to find solutions. Our desire is not to be contentious or to form another faction or group within the FSLN; in any case, we are the executive body of its youth organization, and we are taking this opportunity to express the following points of view:

United Front

A **united** Sandinist Front is a respectable force that can hold in check the enemies of the people; much of the political stability of the nation can be attributed to us Sandinists.

The efforts to improve our internal democracy should not lead us to anarchy or liberalism, which would sidestep the political authority of the FSLN's executive bodies at all levels.

The essence of unity at this time is, and should be, in our opinion, knowledge of and immediate and disciplined application of the Bylaws, the Program, and the resolutions of the First Congress. Otherwise, we will be setting a very serious precedent for the future of Sandinism.

Respect for Minorities

Currents of opinion not only exist, but are necessary for internal development and for resolving our differences.

Each person or group should express their opinions on the issues they feel are necessary; the positive aspect of this is that it deepens and enriches those areas that have not been covered or that were not discussed sufficiently at the First Congress. We think it is detrimental to be ignorant of what we have agreed upon so far, or to try to undermine the legitimacy of these agreements. We should not be repetitive in our processes. The current political stagnation should be overcome through the actions of Sandinists and an ongoing discussion of the social processes that are at work, which demand certain political behaviors of our party.

The debate should help us to define the frame of reference for an alternative economic program for Nicaraguans, and to delve further into the political renewal of Sandinism.

We are of the opinion that within the FSLN, minority positions should be respected (we ourselves were in the minority when we opposed the election of congressional delegates by slates). The minorities should respect the majorities as well, and they have an obligation to adhere to the decisions of the National Congress and other legitimately elected executive bodies. Otherwise, we will have all kinds of things in the FSLN, everything but a revolutionary party that is aggressive in its presence and daily political activity.

National Directorate Should Take the Lead

We are critical of the National Directorate and the Departmental Committees for not being equal to the task of implementing the agreements of the First Congress, and for failing to stimulate and effectively activate the Sandinist Assembly, giving it responsibility for matters that cannot be resolved in the executive body, as our bylaws require.

The members of the Sandinist Assembly should be much more aggressive in solving internal problems. Narrowmindedness [desentendimiento] and sectoral myopia [focalismo] do not serve to elevate the FSLN's political activity in an integral and coherent manner. We feel that the criticism should be aimed at breaking through the obstructive mechanisms and launching a process that will allow us to revive the initiative and political dynamism of our forces.

We demand that the National Directorate begin working as a leadership collective and make itself heard in the various organs of the Front. Its authority emanates from the congress, which is the top executive body and which is the most representative of the Sandinist membership. The congress elected this directorate, and it has an obligation to behave responsibly and with revolutionary spirit.

Bylaws Should Not Be Worthless Paper

The process of electing local authorities is under way, despite the problems of organic coordination and political cohesion we face. This was mandated by the First Congress; we recognize that this is not in itself the solution to our internal problems, but it will provide a legitimate avenue through which to channel the debate and resolve the matter of party political work.

The new local leadership bodies should begin implementing the Bylaws and Program that we approved, which have not been well publicized. They should not be worthless scraps of paper. Although they may be imperfect, they are what governs us, and they should guide us

in our political actions. Everyone has a solemn obligation to enrich and perfect the Bylaws and Program, working among our rank and file, motivating them, organizing them, and activating them.

Immediate Proposal

Since criticism cannot be constructive in and of itself, but must be accompanied by the formulation of proposals and the adoption of a revolutionary political attitude without formalities, a disciplined and unifying attitude, we will proceed to make the following points as a basic, immediate proposal.

1. Convene the Sandinist Assembly immediately for the purpose of reviewing the current situation in the FSLN.

2. Develop the political debate in organic and public forums on issues that require more profound consideration; in particular, Sandinism should take an interest in the economic issue, given the absence of an alternative program.

3. Delve into the problems of rural areas with Sandinist peasant leaders and other direct agents in order to agree upon or define policies for dealing with the serious situation and rebuilding our social base.

4. Establish control over all assets of the FSLN at the various levels; the treasury should serve the purpose it was chosen for. In this regard, the agreement made at the last Sandinist Assembly to clear up what property is personally owned by members and what is part of the FSLN's assets should be put into effect immediately.

5. Proceed to review party property abuse cases decisively and punish those who have violated the policy and morals of the FSLN. The full-scale war on political-moral decomposition and corruption should be the responsibility of everyone, not just an ethical body formed by the congress.

6. The National Directorate should distribute and delineate practical political functions internally, revolving around these axes: territories, sectors, organization, and internal policies.

7. Articulate the international policy of the FSLN and decide, upon consulting the membership, whether to join the Socialist International. A reorganization and administrative centralization of International Relations should be undertaken.

8. Launch a process of authentic ratification or reaffirmation of the membership of the FSLN, leading to an organic recomposition in each territory. It is essential that the FSLN be able to rely on a motivated, organized, and coordinated force so that it can fulfill its political functions. In this stage, it is imperative that all Sandinists be integrated into some direct form of political action.

9. Adopt measures for the reinforcement and political cohesion of the local leadership bodies, and deploy them to deal with the problems that exist in their territory.

10. Activate the committees of the Sandinist Assembly to resolve the matters that have been assigned to it in the short and medium terms. The members of the National Directorate who chair these committees should assume their responsibility or delegate to comrades who can carry out these tasks on time.

11. Coordinate the work and policies aimed at developing a more dynamic effort by our mayors and city councils, within the framework of a commonly agreed-upon strategy.

12. Establish and allocate resources for fluid communication mechanisms (periodic internal bulletin) with the basic political content, to lend greater cohesion and orientation to the intermediate and rank and file leadership.

There is a crisis in the FSLN. The shortcomings are real, and we must solve them collectively and in unison. We want a single, organic Sandinist Front that is capable of assimilating its Bylaws and Program, as well as reforming them and enriching them in daily practice. We must begin now.

Today's struggle is not easy, and we are experiencing it daily with Nicaraguan youths who are increasingly uncertain and profoundly affected by the government's neoliberal economic policy. We repeat: Our fundamental contribution is to face this situation and exert pressure so that the FSLN as a whole can take up the challenge of winning over the new generations of Nicaraguans.

The National Committee of Sandinist Youth consists of Henry Petrie, general coordinator; Larry Astorga, vice coordinator; Carlos Fonseca Teran, Rafael Enriquez, Maria Esther Solis, and Vidal Paladino, members; Secretary of International Relations Enrique Pilarte; the Sandinist Youth representative to the IUSY [expansion not given] bureau, Ernesto Bendana; the departmental secretaries; and Deputy Maria Ramirez.

* Union Leaders on Strikes, Autonomy

92CA0105B Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 23 Feb 92 p 6

[Interview with Jose Angel Bermudez and Gloria Hernandez, National Union of Employees secretary general and rank and file leader, respectively, by Luis Valverde; place, date not given; first two paragraphs are BARRICADA introduction]

[Text] Over the next three months, the strongest labor organizations in the country, the Association of Agricultural Workers (ATC), the Sandinist Central Organization of Workers (CST), and the National Union of

Employees (UNE), will be involved in elections culminating in national congresses to appoint, ratify, or elect new leaders.

In this electoral context, BARRICADA presents an interview with Jose Angel Bermudez and Gloria Hernandez, secretary general and rank and file leader, respectively, of the UNE. They answer questions, each from his or her own perspective, about democratization, autonomy, methods of struggle, verticalism, representativeness, immediate objectives, and other matters of general interest.

[Valverde] What methods are you using in the election process?

[Bermudez] The process has three stages. The first is an analysis of the situation of the unions and all of their accomplishments; it will end on 15 March. Then we must go to the Labor Ministry and legalize the executive boards whose terms have expired. During that same period, the delegates to the National Congress will also be elected.

Between 6 and 15 March, there will be a filing period for candidates for the National Secretariat, who will be elected in the free exercise of democracy: by secret and direct balloting.

[Valverde] It is said that the UNE is still using vertical methods ....

[Bermudez] This is a discussion that is taking place at certain levels; it is a story made up by a lot of people who are interested in dividing the workers. I can assure you that in the case of the UNE, there has been full democracy, because the leaders do not impose their authority on the workers.

Clearly there are interests here that want to split the workers; they have ulterior motives, just like those of the government, which has put up a fence against our unions to divide our forces.

The bylaws state that any worker can run for any position within the organization, with the only condition being that he belong to the organization and be over the age of 16. The days when people were forced to obey are over; the organization moved beyond that stage more than four years ago.

[Valverde] Is there union democracy in the UNE?

[Hernandez] In my opinion, some vestiges of verticalism remain in the General Secretariat of the UNE, but they are no longer assimilated by the rank and file leadership, since each leader carries out specific activities in his or her workplace.

Where we have seen the democratization of the organization is in the federations, which have been engaging in bilateral negotiations in their institutions. They have even joined in these negotiations with certain independent unions, such as those of the Ministry of Construction and Transportation (MCT) and the Ministry of Agriculture.

[Valverde] Some workers say that lines are handed down to the UNE. Is that true?

[Bermudez] Well, my feeling is that there is a real autonomy. There would not be autonomy if a union began to consult with other political organizations or other political parties about whether to carry on a struggle. A union that does that is not autonomous.

In practice, we have engaged in struggles without consulting the Sandinist Front. We have no reason to consult about whether a union battle is justified.

To fight for higher wages or defend job security, we do not have to ask for the approval of a political organization, a political party, or even the government; that is a power vested in the workers.

[Valverde] What do you think of the representativeness of the UNE?

[Hernandez] We in the rank and file leadership have observed that the UNE General Secretariat has become diluted in its efforts to resolve conflicts along with the leadership of the National Workers Front (FNT). The major negotiations of the FNT have never responded to state workers; the budgeted public sector has never been favored by those accords.

Our representative has gotten out of touch with the daily problems of the rank and file. It is because of that lack of aggressiveness in carrying out the mandate of the workers that we are demanding a total change in the national structures. We want leaders who truly represent the workers in negotiations with the government.

The UNE's top representative should have a mandate from state employees, whose wages have remained static at a minimum of 234 cordobas and a maximum of 900 cordobas.

[Valverde] Is autonomy advantageous or disadvantageous?

[Bermudez] I really believe this question is important, above all because there are comrades who think that the UNE should achieve greater autonomy, taking positions that are independent—quote, unquote—from those of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the FNT. There is an effort to manipulate, to blur the distinction between the FNT and the political party, the FSLN.

The real autonomy of the trade unions is beneficial and advantageous. First of all, because influence [espacios] is not free; power [gestion] is not handed to you on a silver platter, nor is it given to you by the employer out of the goodness of his heart.

In this regard, we should not be confused about the famous independence. Whose independence? Who wins here, if the UNE goes out on its own or splits from the FNT? If the UNE separates from the FNT, it does no service to its members; it does a service to the other organizations.

[Valverde] What is your idea of autonomy?

[Hernandez] I do not deny that the union leadership is not supportive of the FSLN; however, under the present circumstances, the struggle is for labor demands, without regard for political affiliations.

I think that if the party tries to lead the labor movement, it causes the movement to lose autonomy and strength at the grassroots level, because the workers embrace different ideologies and a common problem: wages and job security. And the only one who can solve those problems is the labor movement.

[Valverde] Does the UNE plan to change its methods of struggle?

[Bermudez] In principle, we are not for violence, and that should be made perfectly clear. The response to the workers has been one of violence, and that is different.

The National Union of Employees has demanded dialogue and negotiations to solve the problems that arise. I have asked for a monthly meeting with Mr. Antonio Lacayo to review the various problems in the government, but he has not shown the slightest inclination to do that.

We are for union-by-union negotiations, to deal with the issues of collective bargaining agreements, wages, and job security that are of such concern to the workers. Going on strike is a last resort for us.

[Valverde] Do you think the dynamic of the peaceful struggle has an impact on the political leadership of the FSLN?

[Bermudez] Of course we are influencing not only the FSLN, but also other parties that are seeing that the real autonomy of the unions is good for them, too. To the extent that we workers are united, we will have voice and vote in the future platforms of the parties.

If the Sandinist Front does not consider the interests of the popular sectors, the workers, the peasants, the small factory owners, it will end up a minority party, a party of businessmen.

[Valverde] What forms of struggle do the rank and file advocate?

[Hernandez] The experience of the past year has shown us that through dialogue and negotiations, some of the workers social benefits can be preserved.

We state workers want to support the country's economic development. In 1991 the workers' struggle was very politicized, and for that reason we did not achieve our demands. There were intermediate negotiations in which the FNT merely signed an agreement that did not benefit the workers.

I think going out on strike is the last card we have to play to force them to meet our demands.

[Valverde] Do you think the UNE has abused the strike option?

[Hernandez] No, because we have resorted to the strike when the government has forced us to. Perhaps the mechanisms we have used have not been the best.

[Valverde] Would you be willing to give up your job?

[Bermudez] As a Sandinist activist, I am willing to take whatever responsibility I am given, in the rank and file, at the intermediate level, or in an advisory capacity—whatever. My contribution will always be to the workers struggle.

Argentina

Bomb Planted at Channel 9 Management Office

PY2403183092 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1725 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 24 Mar (NA)—The Federal Police have confirmed today that a bomb was discovered at the Channel 9 commercial management office. The police added that it consisted of a cylinder, a sulfur fuse, a timing system, and pamphlets.

The bomb squad disclosed that the device was wrapped in light blue cellophane paper and was placed on a pile of debris at 1000 Mexico Street. It was found by a patrolling police agent.

Police sources have stated that an inquiry is being carried out by the Buenos Aires 4th Police Precinct. The case is called "Public Intimidation" and it is being handled by Federal Judge Nestor Blondi.

The bomb alert occurred at about 1030 [1330 GMT] this morning. Bomb squad personnel immediately ordered the evacuation of the commercial management office and the central broadcasting station.

Channel 9 spokesmen stated that the station controls all its broadcasts and satellite links from the offices on Mexico and Bernardo Irigoyen Streets.

They added that "any damage to that equipment would affect the station's ability to broadcast for some time."

Group Claims Responsibility

PY2503013492 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 0039 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 24 Mar (NA)—A self-styled People's Revolutionary Organization (ORP) [Organizacion Revolucionaria del Pueblo] group today claimed responsibility for several small bombs planted in various places in this capital and for the dissemination of flyers promoting the group's activities.

The ORP claimed responsibility for planting bombs at the Channel 9 commercial management office, the Congress Station of Subway Line A, Plaza Once, and Plaza de la Republica in downtown Buenos Aires.

The ORP also states that "the dissemination of flyers" was carried out all day today to promote the group's activities in various areas of the capital and greater Buenos Aires.

Federal Police confirmed this afternoon that the explosive device planted at Channel 9 was a cylinder with a sulfur wick and a timer device. The device also contained flyers.

Government Denies Warning Israelis of Attack

PY2403155292 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1522 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 24 Mar (NA)—The Government today denied a report that on 18 February the Secretariat for State Intelligence [SIDE] warned the Israeli authorities of a possible terrorist attack on the Israeli Embassy.

The Media Secretariat today reported that the report "is false" and the only "official position" is included in statements that SIDE Secretary Hugo Anzorregui made to a weekly.

In his statements, Anzorregui said there had been "no prior warning" about a possible attack.

Thus the government today answered a report published by a Buenos Aires daily according to which Anzorregui advised the Israeli authorities to reinforce security measures because activities by Arabs had been detected in Latin American countries.

The daily added that the issue was discussed at the cabinet meeting on 19 March at which the ministers made a pact of silence not to discuss anything about it.

The Government's denial leads people to believe that Israeli Government representatives have made some sort of claim before Argentine officials.

Moreover, rumors of a warning prior to the attack had been circulating at least 48 hours before the daily published the report.

Menem Denies Offer To Drop Welfare Reform

PY2403234292 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 24 Mar 92 p 11

[Excerpt] (NA-DYN)—President Carlos Menem denied yesterday that he would be willing to shelve his government's plans for reform of the social welfare fund system in return for trade union support for his re-election bid—which would be possible only if presidential re-election is first approved via constitutional reform.

The City daily CLARIN yesterday said the government had decided to backtrack on social welfare fund reforms "to avoid a generalized conflict with the unions." This would serve two purposes: Ensure electoral support from the labour sector and avoid social unrest that could make Argentina lose credibility with foreign creditors.

But Menem denied this information, stating that the social welfare fund reform was being negotiated "in order to avoid traumatic situations in the core of society."

"I haven't spoken to trade unions about the (re-election) issue," Menem told reporters after touring the new downtown premises of the University of Belgrano, run by Peronist senatorial candidate Avelino Porto.

Union sources said talks between the government and the Union Movement Committee were focused on the

social welfare fund reforms including the SUSS [Single Social Security Service] system of collection and redistribution of employers' contributions, previously handled by the unions.

The unions have opposed the SUSS from the start, demanding the government restore the old mechanism over which they had full control. [passage omitted]

Menem on Government, Cabinet, Pope's Message

PY2503014892 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1333 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 24 Mar (TELAM)—President Carlos Menem has flatly denied that he is displeased with Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo and reaffirmed that "the political power permanently and constantly supports the economic team."

Referring to press reports to that effect, Menem said: "They are pure fairy tales. The president is periodically depicted as confronting some of his ministers. When it is not Erman Gonzalez, it is Cavallo's turn; in earlier times, it was with [Justice Minister Leon Carlos] Arslanian, and then [Education Minister Antonio Francisco] Salonia."

In remarks he made to a radio station, the president said he did not know "the origins of the campaign, which has no basis at all. Relations with Cavallo and the rest of the cabinet are very cordial." The president also said: "The day I have any type of problem with any minister, I will ask him to resign immediately."

Referring to [words indistinct] of Pope John Paul asking that the principles of social equity be respected in the application of economic readjustment in Argentina, Menem said he was feeling "very well," because he believes this call "is contained within the church's social doctrine" and in the "permanent preaching, not only in the preachings of His Holiness, but also in the preachings of all the bishops here and throughout the world."

He highlighted the importance of the policies that are being applied, and he said "there are fewer and fewer poor in Argentina. As we advance with these structural reforms, we are going to eliminate poverty." He also said: "In 1989, we had an index of 12 percent unemployment; currently we are under 5 percent."

"His Holiness' words are tremendously important," the president said, but I believe that in publishing that information "on the front page" of the newspapers "just because of an audience with an ambassador, [Argentina's] (Francisco Trusso) there is a large distance [words indistinct]."

He admitted that "it is a very important piece of news that evidently will make those of us who have Christian spirit pause and think, but it has been given an importance that was not given to the president's visit to the Vatican, where His Holiness said the same thing."

Referring to the attack against the Israeli Embassy, Menem said: "Argentina and the United States are two countries that have large Jewish communities," and therefore I believe that "a bombing of the magnitude of the one that destroyed the Israeli Embassy in this capital, whether it be in New York or Buenos Aires, will have an impressive repercussion around the world."

Menem described as "good" a report that the attack was made against the diplomatic legation in Argentina because Argentina has become an attractive cite for such activities and the action would have a greater impact than if it had been carried out somewhere else in the world.

Moreover, he warned that "it is no more than a rumor and it must be taken as such." [sentence as received] He called the perpetrators of the attack "beasts" and said "they do not have any scruples; they are irrational and perverse."

He added: "[Words indistinct], and he stressed that "the intellectual perpetrators of these attacks are aware of the affect they are having."

[Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish at 1343 GMT on 24 March reports: "Referring to the recommendation of Pope John Paul that the economic readjustment must be made with social equity, Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo said: 'I always listen to what the pope says, then I meditate on what His Holiness says, because in addition to being economy minister, I am a man of the faith, I am a Catholic,' therefore 'I cannot take those words as a reproach, but as advice from he who has wisdom that must be inspiring for all men of goodwill.'"]

Bolivia

Paz Zamora, Commanders Hold Comradeship Meeting

PY2403135892 La Paz Television Boliviana Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Excerpts] The government and its institutions maintain good relations that allow them to strengthen the current democratic process in Bolivia. This was demonstrated at the comradeship meeting held in Achocalla by the president of the Republic, high-ranking military officers, and invited reporters.

Confirming the spirit of unity and brotherhood that exists among the government, the high military command, and the Armed Forces, President Paz Zamora and some ministers of state accepted the invitation extended by Army Commander Oscar Escobar and attended the comradeship meeting in Achocalla, thus denying rumors about a possible uneasiness within the Armed Forces.

[Begin Paz Zamora recording] Our Armed Forces are reaching a level of maturity that did not exist before. This is true. Today our Armed Forces are an institution that all Bolivians must be very proud. Our Armed Forces are perhaps not adequately equipped, nor do they have the necessary resources, but they are modernizing their way of

thinking in an extraordinary manner. We can see this in their actions and in talking to them. Yesterday, for example, in Trinidad, I saw the work being done by the Air Force, Navy, and Army. It is being done shoulder to shoulder in an attempt to combat the floods. That shows that the Armed Forces have achieved a great deal of progress, do you not think so? [end recording] [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Alberto Saenz Klinsky said the Armed Forces are working with the government to strengthen the democratic process in the country.

[Begin Saenz recording] The Armed Forces are working vigorously, especially during this democratic process. The president of the Republic said once at the Military Academy that the Armed Forces are displaying exemplary behavior. [end recording]

Moreover, EFE correspondent Alejandro Varela has admitted that the report on a presumed coup d'etat was unfounded.

[Begin Varela recording] I believe it was not a friendly report. I understand the government's and the Armed Forces' response. The EFE cable was rather alarmist. [end recording]

At the comradeship meeting between the Armed Forces and the government, Varela stated:

[Begin Varela recording] The meeting is a demonstration of the good coexistence between the government and the Army. I do not believe that in Bolivia there is an alarming situation or a situation of concern over any possible military action. I think that has been fully ruled out. [end recording]

Commander Denies 'Uneasiness' in Armed Forces

PY2403141092 La Paz Radio Fides Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Army Commander Oscar Escobar has said that there is no uneasiness within the Armed Forces regarding the budget assigned for this year, nor can that issue be cause for speculation about subversive actions.

[Begin Escobar recording] There is no uneasiness whatsoever. There is no uneasiness. Concern exists, just as in any other institution. Perhaps there are some difficulties stemming form the budget which, as you know, is not sufficient to fulfill our mission as we would like. We also understand the country's situation. We discuss this problem openly among all units. I do not see any reason for the existence of certain documents circulating underground, because this problem can be discussed openly. [end recording]

Police Repress Student Demonstrations in Oruro

PY2403150092 La Paz Television Boliviana Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Special report from Oruro]

[Text] Police agents last night repressed a university student demonstration in the capital. The students took to the streets last night and demanded that the government increase the 1992 budget. When they tried to march to the 10 de Febrero Park—the parade grounds—the police used tear gas grenades and buckshot [balines]. Fortunately no one was injured. The police action has been harshly criticized by university officials. Police officers reported that they prevented the march to the parade grounds because they had received threats from university student leaders that the park would be occupied peacefully to get the government's attention. The university community today announced further coercive measures to demand a budget increase for this year to guarantee both academic and administrative activities.

Brazil

U.S.-Brazilian Antinarcotics Forum Opened

PY2503123692 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network in Portuguese 2200 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Excerpts] A meeting to discuss Brazilian and U.S. legislation on drug trafficking and controls on the laundering of money from drug trafficking opened in Brasilia today.

Representatives from the Brazilian and U.S. Treasury Departments, central banks, customs houses, and police are participating in the seminar.

The Brazilian federal police secretary participated in the opening of the meeting, which will last until tomorrow.

Inspector Romeu Tuma advocates legal changes to facilitate the punishment of those responsible for money laundering in our country and prevent the remittance of this money abroad. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Betty Veloso, from Brasilia] For Inspector Romeu Tuma, this exchange of experiences will help to modify our financial rules and legislation on banking secrecy.

[Tuma] There is a mechanism [words indistinct] submitted this bill to Congress. The improvement will come through this symposium where we will sit at the same table with people from the revenue office, the central bank, and the police—namely the entire mechanism, the legislative branch, the judicial branch, and the government's attorney office, at a symposium in which each one will propose ways to reach the most suitable—even if it is not ideal—form of legislation. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Acting Secretary Appoints New Ibama Head

PY2503032092 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 2300 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Summary] Today Education Minister Jose Goldemberg took over the concurrent post of acting environment secretary, replacing Jose Lutzemberger, and presented the new president of Ibama [Brazilian Institute for

Environmental Affairs and Renewable Natural Resources]. The new head of Ibama is Maria Tereza Jorge Paduay, an ecologist, who worked with the minister at the Sao Paulo Electric Powerplants Inc.

Rezek Says Changes Will Not Affect Rio-92

PY2403164692 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Francisco Rezek has stated that the Brazilian Government's position regarding the preservation of the environment is well known both in the country and abroad. Therefore, the dismissal of the national environment secretary should not affect the upcoming Rio-92 conference.

The dismissal of Jose Lutzemberger, former environment secretary of the Presidency, will not affect the UN Conference on Environment and Development, Rio-92, according to Foreign Minister Francisco Rezek, who said the Brazilian stance on the subject is well known by the international community.

[Begin Rezek recording] The Brazilian Government's stance is well known in Brazil and abroad. This is probably the appropriate time to inform some people who still doubt our position on the preservation of the environment. First, I must say that there are no ambiguities in the Brazilian position. Second—it is only fair to point this out—even before the change, there were no disagreements within the government regarding our main theories. [end recording]

Minister Rezek also said that former Secretary Jose Lutzemberger is highly regarded within Brazil and abroad, and everyone acknowledges his merits.

Collor, Nicaragua's Chamorro Sign Agreements

PY2403133092 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 1000 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Excerpts] President Fernando Collor and his Nicaraguan counterpart Violeta Chamorro signed several agreements during the dinner given by the Brazilian Government for Chamorro at the Itamaraty Palace last night. [passage omitted]

The most outstanding documents signed today by the Nicaraguan and Brazilian Governments refers to technical cooperation in the communications field. Under this agreement, Brazil will supply modern technology to Nicaragua through Telebras [Brazilian Telecommunications, Inc.]. Another agreement refers to research in the agricultural field through Embrapa [Brazilian Agriculture and Livestock Research Enterprise].

The agreements were signed at Itamaraty Palace shortly before the dinner govern by President Collor for President Chamorro.

The two presidents also agreed that the Rio Branco Institute will grant scholarships to Nicaraguan students.

In his welcome speech during the dinner, President Collor said that Violeta Chamorro is a staunch supporter of democracy and is responsible for the changes that have placed Nicaragua on the path to stability and national reconciliation.

Chamorro will go to Sao Paulo this evening.

• Measures in Export Incentive Project Detailed

92SM0303A Sao Paulo VEJA in Portuguese 26 Feb 92 pp 66-67

[Text] To encourage exports, the government is eliminating taxes, facilitating access to financing, and promising to modernize port services.

In its export sector, Brazil has a good engine for producing money and jobs—the only trouble is that that engine has recently been missing badly for lack of maintenance. Last week the government announced a general adjustment of the gears with a package of 13 measures. Among those measures is one exempting raw materials used by manufacturers to produce goods for export from the tax on manufactured products (IPI) and another making credits available to exporters. The government's most daring step was its promise to break up the union/state bureaucracy that is ruining the ports and raising the price of everything that is imported or exported. This project has a short-term objective. The purpose of the package is to increase exports by $3 billion before this year is out.

In 1991, groaning under a heavy layer of taxes and port fees, operating with an undervalued dollar, and chipped away at by the recession in the First World countries, the Brazilian export engine put in its worst performance in five years by producing a trade surplus of $10.6 billion. In 1988, for example, the country earned twice that much. The intention now is to return to an acceptable performance, and the most interesting feature of the package is to be found in its long-term objectives. By forgoing taxes, granting financing, and facing up to the port problem, Brazil is equipping itself better to compete in the international market. That market needs to be understood: it is a war zone where the thing that counts is the lowest price, and that is its only law. The result is that no sensible country collects taxes from its exporters, because it wants them to be able to charge the best price. In exchange, the country that forgoes taxes earns strong currency, its export industry grows, and its people have more jobs.

Brazil has become disconnected from that system, and the hope is that with this package, it will improve its position. When he goes to the foreign market, the Brazilian exporter carries a useless sack of rocks on his back. Thanks to direct and indirect taxes and social security taxes that increase the cost of manpower, Brazilian products go abroad costing from 15 to 18 percent more

than they should. "Brazilian exporters work with a tax burden that trips them up," says Michel Alaby, a foreign trade export in Sao Paulo. That useless burden does not include the fees charged in Brazilian ports, which are from 10 to 12 percent higher than the world average.

Subsidies: Under the new rules, an exporter will be able to finance his production by paying LIBOR [London Interbank Offer Rate]—the interest rate charged by European banks—which amounts to about 5 percent. Since the domestic interest rates charged by Brazilian banks are much, much higher—around 30 percent per year in real terms—the government will pay the difference. People may think that operations of that kind are unfair and just one more example of the obscure subsidies cheating the taxpayer. A stroll through the arena of foreign trade shows, however, would demonstrate that all countries subsidize their exporters heavily. The subsidy in Japan is not even paid by the government. The Japanese pay high prices for the products they consume so that Japanese factories can charge lower prices abroad. Everyone knows it, and no one complains.

In another display of good sense, the government will come up with a way to cut through the absolutely useless bureaucratic tangle surrounding export operations. To be able to put a product on board a ship, a manufacturer today has to fill out no fewer than 16 documents. The process is more complicated than that involved in obtaining an immigration visa from the Canadian Embassy. The export permit alone, which is the main document, calls for 20 items of information. Among other things, the bureaucracy wants to know who the products will be sold to, as though it had any great interest in knowing the name of the person buying Brazilian shoes in New Zealand. Even worse, the permit has to be completed in eight copies. No one knows exactly what all that official pile of papers is good for, but it must be added to the list of unnecessary effort and expense. Consultant Michel Alaby says: "Those are invisible costs which increase the price of the exported product by from 1 to 2 percent."

With its package, the government is adopting obvious measures to stimulate exports, and for the time being, it has erased only a small portion of the mistakes it has made. If it wants to properly sharpen the teeth of its export tigers, it still has a long way to go. It will have to persuade the state governments, for example, to forgo the merchandise distribution and services tax (ICMS), which they collect indiscriminately on products consumed in Brazil and those intended for the foreign market. The ICMS is a consumption tax which, with variations, is collected in most countries. It is an unusual procedure to collect a consumption tax on products that will not be consumed in Brazil.

Rationality: The European countries take their concern not to tax exports to the highest degree of refinement. Tourists in those countries can present the tax bills on what they bought there to the customs service and receive a refund, in the currency of their choice, of what they paid in consumption taxes. Even little Portugal follows that rule. Brazil is still a long way from that level of civilization in the matter of taxes, but it took a few good steps forward last week. The announcement that the government was facilitating things for exporters caused the stock market to rise and encouraged businessmen. "We are on the path to rationality in foreign trade policy," says Marcus Vinicius Pratini de Moraes, president of the Brazil Exporters Association (AEB). "The package was a good one, it contains no deadwood, and it actually reduces exporters' costs," says businessman Laerte Setubal, a member of the Foreign Trade Council of the FIESP [Sao Paulo State Federation of Industries].

It is hoped that the government will not stop with this latest package, because a lot remains to be dismantled before reasonable patterns in the export sector can be achieved. One difficulty that will have to be resolved is the cost of labor. The Brazilian businessman pays a certain amount to his worker in the form of wages and an equal amount to the government in the form of social security taxes. As a proportion, that tax on labor is probably one of the highest in the world, and it further burdens the price of exported products. On average, the income tax swallows up 60 percent of an exporter's profits. The average in the United States is 28 percent. In Japan that tax is 37 percent. "The package did not touch that tax feature, which hampers exports," says Maria Helena Zockun, a researcher at FIPE [Economic Research Institute Foundation] who studies the subject.

Black Tuesday: One of the government's biggest challenges is at the seashore. Brazilian ports operate as an impressive money pit at one extreme. At the other, they reveal themselves to be a giant reservoir of jobs and privileges zealously guarded by the unions. The ports collect dozens of fees for obscure purposes. One such fee is theoretically used to modernize equipment and facilities. As usual, the fee is collected religiously, but the ports have become scrap heaps. An exporter pays $470 to have a container handled in the port of Santos. In the German port of Hamburg, the same operation costs $206. In Rotterdam, Holland, handling a container costs $120, or almost four times less than in Santos.

There are other basic problems whose solutions are more complicated. Brazil is separated from the biosphere of big exporters partly because the cruzeiro is a volatile molecule whose behavior is unpredictable. For months last year, the government spent strong currencies in the market to squash the price of the dollar. The objective was to slow inflation. That game stopped on the famous Black Tuesday in October when the government abandoned the market after wasting $4 billion. During the months in which the dollar was kept artificially low, exporters applied the brakes to all their operations. Their costs, paid in cruzeiros, were rising, while the dollars they would earn were priced low in terms of the national currency. If the country wants to maintain constant pressure on the international market, it needs to give the

cruzeiro stability and instill confidence so that exporters will enter into longer-term contracts.

Brazil is wallowing in a prolonged recession, the domestic market is at a standstill because there is no money for the superfluous or even for what is essential, and workers are being laid off in great numbers. In January, 154,000 people lost their jobs in Greater Sao Paulo alone. The export package may not solve short-term problems, but it is potentially capable of injecting some vigor into a lifeless economy. One criticism of the government needs to be made. The package could perfectly well have been adopted sooner. Let us all trust that it will last.

What Has Been Done

Financing: Financing will be granted at LIBOR, the interest rate charged in the European market—5 percent per year. Since average interest rates in Brazil are higher, the government will have to make up the difference by issuing securities.

Exemption: Collection of the IPI on raw materials used in products for export is suspended. For example, a shoe factory will buy leather, rubber, and glue without paying the IPI provided that its product is for export.

Remittances: The Central Bank will allow foreign currency to be sent abroad in payment of expenses related to exports.

Import tariffs: The government has moved the date for reducing import tariffs, originally scheduled for January 1993, up to October.

What Remains To Be Done

Ports: Congress has not yet passed a bill privatizing port services, which are among the worst and most expensive in the world.

ICMS: A few states are not agreeable to discontinuing collection of the ICMS on products for export—a tax that does not exist in other countries.

Bureaucracy: The bureaucratic obstacles have not yet given way. Export permits, for example, must be filled out in eight copies. The government has promised to set up mechanisms that will make life easier for exporters before this year is over.

Foreign exchange: The government needs to give the cruzeiro stability and instill confidence so that exporters will negotiate longer-term contracts. An artificial devaluation of the dollar, which is what happened last year, is the worst policy for the export sector.

Chile

Aylwin Says Pinochet Not on Official Mission

PY2503021092 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Contrary to statements made by Senator Sergio Onofre Jarpa, the Chilean Government has not entrusted any special mission to General Augusto Pinochet, Army commander in chief. The visit Pinochet is making to some countries on the continent is of a strictly private nature.

President Patricio Aylwin made that clarification during a news conference that he and his Uruguayan counterpart, Luis Alberto Lacalle, held before Aylwin returned to Chile.

[Begin Aylwin recording] Gen. Pinochet's visit is strictly private in nature. He has been entrusted with no official mission, and he carries no government authorization or request for... [pauses] any contact or negotiation whatsoever. Consequently, I do not know why Sen. Jarpa formulated the hypothesis that Pinochet is on a visit to contact commanders in chief of other countries. [end recording]

In response to reporters' questions, Aylwin added that Gen. Pinochet is not the Armed Forces commander, but only the Army commander in chief, noting that constitutional power rules in Chile. He explained that Gen. Pinochet has limited himself to discharging the duties of a commander in chief, and the fact that he may not be removed from his post is under discussion. [passage omitted]

Police on 'Third Party' in Political Espionage

PY2403131292 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 0030 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Investigative Police have revealed that a third party acted as a link between Deputy Police Commissioner Juan Arias and the Independent Democratic Union [UDI] in the case involving a leak of intelligence documents.

In a communique released at 1200 today, the Investigative Police officially reported that Deputy Police Commissioner Juan Manuel Arias Ahumada had been placed at the disposal of the courts and that criminal charges have been filed against him for revealing confidential information and for the theft of documents and papers that had been entrusted to him in his capacity as deputy police commissioner.

[Begin unidentified police spokesman recording] Internal investigations and experts' reports prove that the aforementioned documents were in the possession of Deputy Police Commissioner Juan Arias Ahumada, who was the coordinating officer of the Investigative Police intelligence office. He issued copies of these documents to a third party, thus leaking the information contained therein. This incident has seriously harmed the public

interest. This official was obliged—like all officials of the institution—to pass any complaints he had about the instructions he received through regular channels. This procedure is clearly outlined in the internal institutional rules and regulations. The procedure is contained in the rules and regulations pertaining to documentation and archives of the Investigative Police of Chile. [end recording]

Further on Espionage Case

PY2503010692 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 0030 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] The political espionage case has generated intense activity in La Moneda Palace. The main concern that emerged when the situation of the Investigative Police was evaluated was control of intelligence activities.

[Begin recording] [Reporter Pilar Bernstein] The topic of political espionage, particularly its legal and political aspects, was thoroughly debated here in La Moneda Palace.

Early this morning, Vice President Enrique Krauss met Coalition of Parties for Democracy representatives, who gave him their full support.

[Jorge Arrate of the Socialist Party] Minister Krauss has emphatically told us that it is absolutely false that 14 government officials had received reports regarding the private lives or beliefs of individuals. He stated that that information is incorrect and constitutes part of the somewhat irresponsible actions of the UDI [Independent Democratic Union] in this affair.

[Bernstein] Enrique Krauss afterward met interim Investigative Police Director Nelson Mery, along with the ministers of the political sphere. There was no report on this meeting.

Eduardo Zuniga, general manager of ENACAR [National Coal Enterprise] and Investigative Police deputy director during the government of Eduardo Frei, paid a surprise visit to La Moneda.

[Unidentified reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Zuniga] No, absolutely not.

[Reporter] Do you have experience in intelligence matters?

[Zuniga] Well, I was deputy director once upon a time, but that was in the past. Nothing else...

[Reporter, interrupting] But could that not be revived?

[Zuniga] No, not in any way. Not in any way. [repeats]

[Reporter] If you were offered the post, what would your answer be?

[Zuniga] That has not been suggested. I am in charge of coal.

[Reporter] But, eventually, are you in a position to accept?

[Zuniga] No, it is impossible.

[Bernstein] Jose Antonio Viera Gallo, Chamber of Deputies president, visited Government House during the afternoon. He announced that on 26 March the Chamber of Deputies will hold a special session to debate the topic of intelligence due to the accusation that the Investigative Police have carried out political espionage.

He said the debate will be extensive, and the intelligence organizations' functions since President Aylwin assumed office will be evaluated. He added that it is hoped that the issue of whether the Army Intelligence Directorate, DINE, participated in an Investigative Police deputy commissioner's leaking of documents will be clarified.

[Viera Gallo] We hope to clarify the reports we received on 19 March, and it is obvious the leaks in the Investigative Police are linked to DINE activities. We believe this is another point that should be clarified, because there is a service, in this case the DINE, that is in one way or another controlling and carrying out surveillance of another service.

[Reporter] But is there the presumption the DINE has been carrying out counterespionage?

[Viera Gallo] No. What I told you is that there is a hypothesis in the sense that the secret documents leaked by the Limache deputy commissioner passed through DINE's hands.

[Bernstein] Enrique Correa, minister secretary of government, stated that Congress must create a special committee to investigate the intelligence services.

[Correa] We believe this is the best course of action, because we are sure of one thing: We want to increase the state political authorities' control and power over the intelligence services.

In any democratic country of the world, the intelligence services must be under the control of the president and congress.

[Reporter] Has DINE's participation in this affair been confirmed?

[Correa] I can neither confirm nor deny it.

[Bernstein] Finally, he indicated that the defense and interior ministers will participate in the Chamber of Deputies special session. Depending on the topics to be debated, the session may be declared secret.

Pilar Bernstein for "24 Hours. [end recording]

'Appropriate' Measures Expected

PY2503015892 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Enrique Correa, minister secretary general of government, has stated that the government expects the Army Intelligence Directorate—DINE—to take the appropriate measures in the political espionage case reported by the UDI [Independent Democratic Union].

Under Secretary of War Marcos Sanchez read an official report on the situation. Correa added that the government will do everything in its power to see that the DINE members who are responsible are punished.

[Begin recording] [Correa] We, however, did take measures. The Investigative Police director submitted his resignation and we accepted it. Prefect Mora also has resigned. We expect DINE to adopt similar measures, because illegal actions were also committed in that organization.

[Unidentified reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Correa] The government will do everything that it is legally empowered to do.

[Reporter] What can the government do?

[Correa] It will take all the legal measures that it is empowered to take. I believe that the minister of defense, in his statement, asked Jorge Lucar, Army deputy commander in chief, to order an appropriate investigation. We will wait for the investigation's results and demand that appropriate measures be taken. [end recording]

Minister Correa added that the government hopes the outcome of the case will not be the same as when DINE became engaged in espionage against progovernment parties some time ago.

Honecker Reactivates Contacts With DPRK

PY2503033492 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 0030 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Erich Honecker would be willing to return to Germany if the German Government formally filed charges against him. Roberto Cifuentes, special envoy of the Chilean president, made this proposal to the German Foreign Ministry.

Honecker also has reactivated his contacts with the DPRK, as our correspondent to Bonn Gonzalo Caceres has reported:

[Begin recording] [Caceres] Dieter Kastrup, German Foreign Ministry state secretary, and the second Chilean special ambassador on Honecker's case, Roberto Cifuentes, have met at the German Foreign Ministry. Cifuentes went to the ministry in the company of Carlos Huneeus, Chilean ambassador to Bonn. Cifuentes spoke with his German counterpart for more than one hour in an attempt to find a solution to the problem that has been harming our relations with Germany.

The meeting was held behind closed doors and journalists were not allowed to enter the German Foreign Ministry. At the end of the meeting, however, Cifuentes approached the journalists and said the meeting had been cordial and friendly. He added that the Chilean Government's objectives had been achieved.

[Cifuentes] First, Mr. Honecker is not willing to voluntarily leave the Chilean Embassy to return to Germany. Two, he is considering the possibility of going to the DPRK. This means that he has requested permission from the Russian Government to travel to the DPRK. For humanitarian reasons, the Koreans have again invited him to travel to their country, where he can undergo health treatment. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Colombia

Further Reportage on Kidnapping, Death of Duran

Rebels Return Body

PA2303183892 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 1800 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] A group of guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia [FARC] and the Popular Liberation Army [EPL] has handed over the body of politician Argelino Duran Quintero, who died in captivity at La Playa Municipality, Norte de Santander Department, in an area very close to where the authorities were trying locate the body. The contact for the delivery was made last night through a radio relay in Cucuta. The FARC guerrillas promised to intervene and the EPL members accepted their request.

Right now, the body is being taken to Cucuta aboard a Public Works and Transportation Ministry helicopter. The rebels offered to hand over Duran Quintero's remains, thanks to the efforts of Bishop Madrid Merlano, who has arrived La Playa. The corpse will lie at Cucuta's Masa Mechanic Base and most likely will be flown to Santa Fe de Bogota this afternoon.

NFD Condemns Attack

PA2403154992 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0130 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] The Democratic New Force [NFD] has issued a communique stating that it shares the sorrow and indignation Colombians are feeling at this moment and that it rejects the vile attack against Argelino Duran Quintero.

The communique adds: We are in favor of peace, but we are not in favor of turning that desire into a vague and mistake-ridden process.

'No Decision' on Peace Talks

PA2503022992 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0000 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] The order given today by the Simon Bolivar National Guerrilla Coordinating Board [CNGSB] to surrender the body of Former Minister Argelino Duran Quintero and an offer by a front of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia to hand it over within the next 24 hours are goodwill gestures that have not helped improve the outlook for peace. After a lengthy conversation with President Gaviria, peace adviser Horacio Serpa said:

[Begin Serpa recording] For the time being, there has been no decision regarding resumption of the dialogue. In fact, the government is currently analyzing the circumstances surrounding the talks. The government demands that the CNGSB show absolute honesty regarding the kidnapping and death of Dr. Argelino Duran Quintero. The government also demands an immediate explanation and information about his remains.

Drs. Gilberto Echeverri, Hector Rivera, and I have informed the president and the ministers that, in our opinion, the guerrillas represented at the negotiating table in Tlaxcala had no information about Dr. Duran's death.

As long as there is no cease-fire, the negotiations—should they be resumed—will be fragile, because they will be subjected to everything that could happen in a war that is as bloody, senseless, and sterile as the one the Colombian people are facing. [end recording]

Peace Negotiators Discuss Issue

PA2303234992 Santa Fe de Bogota Emisoras Caracol Network in Spanish 0215 GMT 23 Mar 92

["Personality of the Week" program, hosted by Fabio Callejas Ramirez, with Horacio Serpa Uribe, presidential peace adviser; Alfonso Cano, Simon Bolivar National Guerrilla Coordinating Board representative; Diego Ruiz, Popular Liberation Army representative; and Armando Montenegro, national planning director, in Tlaxcala, Mexico—live or recorded]

[Text] [Callejas] Ladies and gentlemen: Welcome to the "Personality of the Week" program on Emisoras Caracol Network, which is being broadcast from Tlaxcala, Mexico. The country is affected by the death of former minister Argelino Duran Quintero, who was in the hands of the EPL [Popular Liberation Army]. The incident occurred during the first two weeks of dialogue between the government and the Simon Bolivar National Guerrilla Coordinating Board [CNGSB]. That is why the peace issue merits analysis. The country is concerned because the dialogue process, the peace process, is in danger. President Cesar Gaviria Trujillo has expressed his concern about this incident and has called members of the government commission for a consultation to discuss decisions that must be made in the next few hours.

We want to thank Presidential Peace Adviser Horacio Serpa Uribe for being so kind as to accept our invitation. Dr. Horacio Serpa Uribe, following this tragic news, heard by all Colombians, what will happen to the peace process and what is the government's impression of Dr. Argelino Duran's death?

[Serpa] We members of the government negotiating commission are very much affected and really saddened. We are disheartened over this news, which has damaged national public opinion because of what Dr. Argelino meant to us. He was a public man. He represented his party and his country in many important events as a congressman and as a minister. He was a prominent man with great human qualities, one of the outstanding characteristics of his personality. That is why we are very sad, we are very disheartened. We have sent our condolences to his family, but we are also saddened over the circumstances of his death. He was kidnapped, and this was greatly condemned by the country. We are sad because he died in captivity; we are sad and disheartened.

[Callejas] What led this rebel group to this?

[Serpa] It is a criminal act. Kidnapping is a crime that adversely affects the heart and soul of the community. Besides, Dr. Argelino was such a respectful person. He was an elderly man. It was an inconsiderate thing to do. Demands by his relatives, the community, and the government were not heard. Demands for his release were made insistently. This incident should be condemned.

[Callejas] Have you spoken with President Cesar Gaviria Trujillo about this? Has he made a statement about the situation? Will the rules of the game regarding the peace talks be defined here? Is there going to be a recess? What will happen next?

[Serpa] The talks have been in recess since 20 March. I had the opportunity to speak to President Cesar Gaviria. Of course, the president is disheartened by this incident. He is also concerned about this tragic situation that has shaken Colombia. I have come to Colombia with the government negotiating team, Dr. Hector Rivero, deputy government minister, and Dr. Gilberto Echeverri. We came here to talk to the president. Until we have the opportunity to talk to the president about this, I will not make any statement regarding the process.

[Callejas] Kidnapping is definitely a crime. The country is dismayed over this death. Would you like to call on not only the guerrilla groups but other groups that may want to prevent by such means the tranquillity of all Colombians?

[Serpa] It is a call we are always making. We demand prudence. We demand love for democracy, devotion to civic duty. We call upon people to trust in the future of Colombia. All of this is needed to cure this painful and tragic cancer in which we have submerged ourselves with intransigence, radical behavior, and intolerance. All of this saddens us. It hurts us greatly, but we have to think about Colombia. Colombia is too big. The people's interest is also very big. All of us who are capable of reasoning and of making an analysis should do something for our fatherland every day. We should do something more for Colombia, more for coexistence. We should do more to achieve understanding, to respect ethics, to respect our principles, the fundamental values of the spirit, and the essence of our large nationality.

All this must induce us to struggle for Colombia. All these events that affect us so deeply must make us reconsider. So many deaths in Colombia cannot go unnoticed, unpunished by history's judgment. These deaths must also serve to make Colombians reconsider, to make us understand we are on the wrong path. The road to confrontation, intransigence, crime, and corruption is the worst route and the most damaging circumstance for the destiny of our beloved country.

[Callejas] Dr. Serpa, do you believe that, with the death of former minister Argelino Duran Quintero, the work done these two weeks with the CNGSB in Tlaxcala is lost? Obviously, circumstances in the dialogue process are now different.

[Serpa] Please try and understand that until I speak to the president, the supreme guide of the Colombian Government and specifically of the peace process, I cannot issue any statement in connection with what you ask.

[Callejas] What was your impression after learning of the death of former minister Argelino Duran Quintero? What did you say to the guerrillas?

[Serpa] The talks were in recess. I talked to the CNGSB members, with the government's economic team assigned to these talks, and with the deputy government minister and chamber of commerce delegates, and told them that the government negotiating commission would travel to Bogota to consult with the president.

[Callejas] Do you believe that, in light of these new events that are worrying Colombians just when the government is making this great effort, the peace we yearn for is still far away?

[Serpa] Peace is yearned for and wished for by so many fellow Colombians that many times we look on with sadness at what is happening to our country. We also look on with skepticism. One never knows when we take the plundering and mistaken path of confrontation—when we fight between brothers—the path of intransigence and of the irrational. All this goes against our role of good citizens. When something like this takes place, we become grieved and lose hope. Of course, I agree with those who demand much optimism, much struggle for Colombia, much effort for peace, much tolerance, much struggle against crime, corruption, and everything else that is wrong. I believe most Colombians demand this.

[Callejas] The government obviously rejects this situation and attitude. What (?words of hope) do you have for Colombians on the confidence that should be given to attain peace?

[Serpa] We have a big fatherland for which we must work hard. We have vibrant young people who expect good examples and great objectivity in decisions made by the country's leaders and elders. There is ample room for democracy and peace in Colombia that we must fill with good and positive deeds in an objective manner, basing each act of a citizen of this fatherland on sound reasoning. I think if every one of us works hard for Colombia, if everyone of us (?loves it), if every one of us decides to fight for our nation and our people as a major national goal—and I mean to fight in a civilized manner, to fight with concepts, ideas, efforts, and toil—we will move ahead and offer our children and their children a situation better than one so many Colombians have had to bear.

[Callejas] Thank you, Mr. Horacio Serpa Uribe for giving us the government stance regarding the new developments taking place in the country, stemming from the death of former minister Argelino Duran Quintero. We expect to have an official government statement in the next few hours. Let us also learn the CNGSB position on this situation. We have invited Alfonso Cano to Radio Caracol's center here in Tlaxcala, Mexico. He is the highest ranking CNGSB spokesman and represents that Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, FARC. What is your reaction to the news of Duran Quintero's death, which has given a different turn to the peace talks? What stance have you adopted regarding this development?

[Cano] The CNGSB regrets the outcome of the situation involving Argelino Duran Quintero. The (?government) negotiating delegation can attest to all the efforts made by the CNGSB delegation to obtain his release. Unfortunately, problems in communications made it even harder for us to convey our concern as promptly and expeditiously as this case warranted, chiefly with the EPL, which carried out or claimed responsibility for this action.

This morning—rather, yesterday morning—the country learned of a CNGSB communique. We had reached an agreement with the government delegation yesterday, before the outcome of this episode was known. We sent to Colombia an EPL member who belongs to the CNGSB delegation in Mexico to try to [words indistinct]. We did everything within our reach. We are clearly facing a specific situation, and we must resolve it within the CNGSB. Our EPL comrades will have to explain to the country what happened.

[Callejas] Does this mean the CNGSB is to be held responsible and, if not, is only the EPL?

[Cano] From the moment the CNGSB learned what happened to Dr. Duran Quintero, from the moment the EPL's Norte de Santander Front publicly admitted holding him and said it was handling the situation in political terms, the CNGSB tried to intervene. We began contacting EPL national leaders to resolve the situation as soon as possible. This was before we left Colombia for Mexico. Once in Mexico, communications became very difficult. The [words indistinct] the CNGSB and negotiating delegation clearly realized this incident would have a political bearing on the negotiations and that we had to handle and resolve the situation.

[Callejas] In any case, as we said previously, the latest events besmirch this process. How do you, Alfonso Cano, think Duran Quintero's relatives feel about the peace that Colombians have been seeking so anxiously, and the fact that while talks are under way, things like this can happen that are truly not good for the country?

[Cano] Their feelings and mine and, we must say, the feelings of Colombians, must necessarily be bruised. They are the same feelings of the relatives of Daniel Garcia, one of my colleagues who is missing, and the same feelings of all families affected by kidnapping, torture, and assassination. I believe we have to view this from the moral and political viewpoints, which necessarily complement each other. I believe this is well summarized in what former President Pastrana Borrero said: Things like this should lead us to reflection. All Colombians must feel sorrow in such a situation. But above all, we must redouble efforts to achieve a consensus and an agreement. Obviously, this is even more binding on us.

I believe this demonstration of the spirit and vision of a statesman is very important in getting many Colombians to keep this in mind. I believe this is not the time to stir up feelings, promote retaliations, or further deepen the schisms that obviously exist in Colombian society. We can do no less than devote more and more efforts, at the negotiating table and throughout the country, to creating the right climate for these talks and to expedite them.

[Callejas] The country is waiting for an answer from all of you. It is expecting a clearly defined position. The country wants to see a true commitment to peace. Things change, however. What can you say to Colombians?

[Cano] Well, that's what we are doing here in Mexico. I believe that, because of having wasted time in Caracas last year, we have been moving too [word indistinct] on a subject that definitely was not going to come to anything because of the way the national government directed the discussion. That was valuable time.

I remember the very words with which we began the first session in Caracas last June, concerning the situation that occurred in Casa Verde in 1990. We were unable to achieve peace because of the deaths. All the aspirations, all the waiting, and the abandonment of the negotiating table in Caracas caused a great loss of time. The conditions existing in Colombia now are very complicated. I think we have to reaffirm our willingness. We are here, and we will continue to work hard.

The situation in Colombia is very difficult. The economic situation is very difficult. That is why we, as the persons primarily responsible for that negotiating table, must provide more encouragement, more spirit, and more desire to reach an agreement. I see no other way to solve the situation. I believe those who say the situation must be resolved by force are wrong. The country is well acquainted with force and violence. We personally experienced the fact that, throughout history, violence has always brought more violence and more confrontation. I think what we need is more clarity on where we are making progress, where we can go, and we need to be very precise with the media, so that this process will also be a didactical factor, a factor in educating Colombians in the area of peace.

[Callejas] Skepticism is almost general in the country. People ask: Why hold talks if the violence is continuing?

[Cano] Well, I believe if we allow pessimism to prevail in Colombia—I do not believe the prevailing sentiment. But if we allow the country to sink into pessimism, we will be allowing Colombian society to fall into the abyss of total war, with no boundaries, no rules of the game, and we would have total chaos. I think we have to persist. We have to be persistent. We have to be very creative. Again, we have to be didactical. We have to communicate, to call on the people to participate in many ways and to make a commitment to the negotiations.

To do this, we have to start from a basis of clarity and say to ourselves that we can. We can. We have El Salvador close by. We have the example of the lengthy peace process carried out by Salvadorans for more than 10 years amid terrible violence. It was lengthy but, finally, it was possible to demonstrate to the people and the world that it is possible to reach an agreement no matter how many differences exist.

That is what we have to achieve for Colombia. We can. It is possible and feasible, and that is what we are doing.

[Callejas] Do you believe we must reevaluate these things because the death of Argelino Duran, for example, could have been prevented, as well as many kidnappings?

[Cano] Of course, and not just those things, but many other situations, such as the violence in Colombia, the violence in city streets and in the countryside. There is a great amount of violence. Our efforts are directed to that end. That is the purpose of our struggle: to create a climate in which the people will have the basic guarantees of life, of a dignified life, of the protection of their human rights. Obviously, confrontation generates a number of very complex situations that are often outside the control of many people, even the leaders of organizations such as ours. We struggle by every means. There are many difficulties. We face difficult circumstances. The fact is that we are advancing. That is what we can say now that we are going to discuss this, and we are creating something of an opening, a climate, a possibility, a framework for efforts that will be the starting point of the process.

[Callejas] What will happen to the peace process? What do you perceive? What will be the fate of the talks? The government decision is awaited.

[Cano] We believe the situation is quite complex. We are waiting to see if the government commission will decide to continue. Circumstances and the situation have

forced us to rethink things very much, to weigh things, and (?ask questions). At least the atmosphere and the resolve displayed at the negotiating table makes one think we will remain on the path we have maintained since the talks in Tlaxcala began.

[Callejas] Does this mean the work that was done here in Tlaxcala, Mexico, is lost?

[Cano] No, no, no, absolutely not. We have come a long way. It is a great pity that, for the time being, we cannot round off the issue of opening up, but a great deal of progress has been made, and we are more aware of the government's economic and social policies. We have not begun to state our positions, especially on this issue, and we have not heard [word indistinct] opinions from Santa Fe de Bogota, but progress has been made. First, many issues have been brought to our attention, and we have a much broader frame of reference regarding government policy. Second, we have managed to prove in practice that it is possible to discuss issues that separate us without offending and mistreating each other for our (?personal and political defense). We have conversed as Colombians whose opinions differ but who understand that one must learn to listen.

[Callejas] Finally, Alfonso Cano, what can the country expect from the armed groups that are talking with the government in Tlaxcala, Mexico: acts of goodwill or violence?

[Cano] Our goodwill has been expressed through our [words indistinct], our resolve to reach agreements, and the spirit that has spurred on this discussion. Acts of good faith are necessary from both sides, and I believe they will be generated at the negotiating table because the national situation is very complex. Operations are under way. There is poverty, and all the things you know about, which I will not repeat. This is not conducive to the good atmosphere we need.

Furthermore, we are partially responsible for the atmosphere in Colombia; we are not evading that responsibility. I believe Tlaxcala is important for the country's prospects of achieving peace. We must bet on Tlaxcala, we must help Tlaxcala, and we must participate directly or indirectly in the Tlaxcala negotiations. The country has no other option but negotiation and dialogue. The other option is unimaginable for any of us.

[Callejas] Thanks to Alfonso Cano of the CNGSB, who has reported his position regarding the latest events in the country. Now, from Tlaxcala, Mexico, we have Diego Ruiz, EPL representative to the CNGSB negotiations.

What can the EPL tell the Colombian people concerning the death of Doctor Duran and other circumstances that are hindering the path to peace? You are responsible for this new situation, which has been repudiated by various sectors and the general public.

[Ruiz] I must admit that Mr. Argelino Duran Quintero was being held by the (?Eduardo Mora Toro) guerrilla front. The reasons why this happened are solely political. This is the information I had until I reached Tlaxcala. Since then, for reasons I have stated on other occasions, we lost contact with that front. I did not know about these developments. As stated in the CNGSB communique issued on the morning of 23 March, we were determined to end this incident as best as possible. Consequently, we established that a member of the EPL delegation's organizing commission at the negotiations would contribute, as we stated in the communique, to the efforts under way in Colombia to resolve this situation in a positive manner. What happened afterward was truly unexpected, and we had not been informed.

We are still examining and evaluating the situation. The CNGSB and the EPL will issue an official declaration at the appropriate time.

[Callejas] The national government made a vigorous announcement on 21 March from Santa Fe de Bogota with respect to this incident. It pointed out in a communique that if it is confirmed, without any doubt, that Dr. Argelino Duran's death took place several days ago, it would represent the most serious example of dishonesty perpetrated by the CNGSB. The communique continues to add that the CNGSB attempted to conceal Dr. Duran's death and even tried to promote a regional dialogue in Norte De Santander aimed at trying to obtain a release they knew was already impossible. This fact makes us deeply reflect on the guerrilla's sincerity during the negotiation process. What do you have to say about the government's announcement?

[Ruiz] First, the CNGSB still does not have an official reply. Our official declaration will be made shortly and will be based on a serious evaluation of the situation and on the communique issued by the Presidency of the Republic. I would prefer not to refer specifically to the government communique at this time. We plan to examine the communique very carefully. We also intend to analyze its meaning as it relates to the problems currently taking place in Colombia, and to how the communique relates to the continuation of the [word indistinct] dialogue. The CNGSB has repeatedly pointed out that the dialogue is the most compelling, necessary, useful, convenient instrument to search for solutions to Colombia's problems. During the past months, these problems have become more serious because of the impact of the government's economic policies on Colombian society.

[Callejas] I will repeat the question. Is the CNGSB trying to deceive the government and the country?

[Ruiz] In this and other cases, the CNGSB and its forces have been very careful to accommodate and to abide completely to the spirit of veracity and the realities of the negotiations. On previous occasions, when there have been similar situations or events not deliberately caused or promoted by any of the groups within our organization, we have proceeded to acknowledge our responsibility and our unpremeditated intent. Likewise, we have

been sufficiently firm and clear in this case. We have stated unquestionably our position in a proposal presented this morning at the negotiating table. Our proposal entails a CNGSB and an EPL representative traveling to Venezuela, and from there making arrangements to reach the area where the EPL guerrillas were holding Mr. Duran Quintero. We were encouraged by the noblest purpose of positively contributing to the objectives set by the CNGSB. I do not believe there is any need for us to adopt any misleading postures to provide solutions that will adequately solve the situation. As I said initially, our opinion with respect to the communique will be made public shortly.

[Callejas] As a citizen and a Colombian, are you not bothered by what Dr. Duran Quintero's family is going through at this time—the sadness and despair they are feeling because of how he died? After all, the insurgents have been responsible for acts that are rejected and condemned by society. Is the EPL not bothered by how the relatives of all those who have been kidnapped feel?

[Ruiz] The EPL and all CNGSB forces are worried about this. We have been worried for a long time about what a tragedy this is for the Colombian people because there is much violence in Colombia. Many incidents have taken place in our country, incidents that began a long time ago. The accumulation of all those regrettable incidents and the other things that the country is paying a very high price for are some of the factors that compel us to continue the dialogue, which we realize is a way to solve the problems.

You could ask me: Are all those massacres against innocent peasants hurting the country? Are the high number of killings committed against popular leaders [words indistinct] hurting the country? Are the numerous murders of teachers on city streets hurting the country? Is the Colombian population's growing poverty level and the anguish of the Colombian family over the government's economic policy hurting the country? All these things hurt us. Therefore, we have been forced to take up arms as a political solution to the national conflict.

[Callejas] Could you tell Colombia at this time whether it is necessary to analyze these matters, or if there will be some analysis about them? You made a commitment, and yet you continue with the same attitude that is hurting the country. Is it not time for you to reflect upon this situation?

[Ruiz] Now is the right time, but we have been reflecting upon the country's situation for many years. As I told you, it is necessary to look at the things that are happening to Colombia in their totality, a totality that has many painful aspects. We have been reflecting upon all of this. As I said, we have reflected on all of this, not only today but also yesterday, the day before yesterday, months ago, and years ago. We have been reflecting on this for decades. This has encouraged us to search for the road that will lead to the solution of this critical situation in Colombia. In every sector, in every field, the pain of a population and the pain of a country invite people who have decided to risk their lives to look for civic solutions.

[Callejas] That was EPL spokesman Diego Ruiz answering the question all Colombians are asking: What responsibility does that insurgent movement have for the death of Minister Argelino Duran Quintero?

Despite the recess in the dialogue taking place in Tlaxcala, Mexico, we cannot ignore the presentation made by the government's economic team this week, a presentation that was well received by the guerrillas. For this reason, we asked Planning Director Armando Montenegro for his analysis of the discussion he has had with the rebels regarding economic issues.

[Montenegro] We have, in effect, said that those in government and the members of the CNGSB differ in their perceptions of the country. There are many reasons for this. One of these reasons is that the guerrillas have looked at Colombia and applied Marxist logic. There is a series of contradictions between the various socialist classes and the Colombian Government. The socialists believe, for example, that multinational organizations and imperialism in general are there to correct [words indistinct] the economy as well as the economic institutions of Colombia. We arrived at that conclusion by listening to their proposals. We have listened in the most cordial manner and have tried to tell them they are wrong. In Colombia, those patterns already have been overcome, and they do not correspond to reality. The government has made economic decisions according to its own analysis of the situation and according to its interpretation of our country's history and national economy. Therefore, our interpretation is different. We look at the history of Colombia and at Colombia's needs. We provide answers through a series of concrete policies in the social and economic fields, and they, on the other hand, insist on old patterns that, to us, are based on anachronistic Marxist ideas.

[Callejas] Dr. Montenegro, do you think your participation in this round and your explanations to the CNGSB have made it possible to gain points, by which I mean, have they made it possible to agree on aspects beneficial to the peace talks? Do they yield good results?

[Montenegro] I think so. First of all, we have something that Colombians have not realized. We do not know the guerrillas' economic views. We do not know much regarding their social views. There is no specific platform. In this discussion on economic matters with the government, they submitted specific ideas. They have made the effort to list actions and counterproposals that are, in some cases, just starting points to the topics that have been introduced at the negotiating table. I think this is important. What the country and the public have known is merely the logic of war and combat. They are not certain what causes these men are fighting for.

[Callejas] Dr. Montenegro, do you think the views expressed by the government's economic team have convinced the guerrillas?

[Montenegro] It is very difficult to convince the guerrillas, chiefly in short talks. I do think we have conveyed to them some concerns. I would like to mention just one. The Marxist logic predicted that the poor would grow poorer every day and the wealthy wealthier every day. The degree of separation between the social classes would become unsurmountable. Only a violent revolution would redress that situation. We have begun with statistics available in the country. We have shown with figures that this has not happened in Colombia. Inequality still remains and is large, although it has diminished.

We have achieved major progress in the literacy rate. Approximately 30 years ago, almost 40 percent of Colombians did not know how to read or write. This percentage is now close to 12 percent. Thirty or 40 years ago, almost 200 children out of 1,000 died. Today that figure has dropped to 30 or less. I could go on listing a large number of breakthroughs. We have shown that progress has been achieved in Colombia. The government has specific options and programs in the social field that are very good for the people of Colombia. In sum, we are showing that it is possible to overcome our problems, inequality, and poverty through democratic means, the [words indistinct], and harmonious work of all Colombians. We can achieve this peacefully. It is not necessary to use armed means or bring further bloodshed to the country to solve these problems. That is simply not necessary.

[Callejas] We thank National Planning Director Montenegro for giving us this assessment and summary of the government's participation in the peace talks.

Senators, Foreign Minister on Gulf Conflict

PA2503021592 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0000 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Text] The debate on the status of the Colombian-Venezuelan relationship regarding the gulf issue was postponed for 1 April. However, some senators have offered their views.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] There are opposing views in the Senate. One group is calling for a freeze in the negotiations on the conflict over marine and submarine areas in the Gulf of Venezuela. That initiative, which is supported by a liberal sector, will be presented by Senator Jorge Valencia:

[Valencia] The goal is to freeze discussion on the issue until the year 2050, agree to free navigation along the areas in conflict, and agree not to exploit the resources that could be present in the marine area.

[Reporter] The other option is international arbitration based on a treaty the two countries signed in 1939. That proposal is defended by Senator Rodrigo Marin:

[Marin] I do not see why this possibility is being underestimated or shunned, given that it is the only suitable instrument available to Colombia to defend its rights in the Gulf of Venezuela. This is also a very useful possibility to be discussed at the negotiations.

[Reporter] The government has not yet established a new position and maintains the position of favoring direct negotiations. Foreign Minister Nohemi Sanin on 24 March commented on recent statements by the Venezuelan defense minister disregarding Colombian rights in the gulf; the Venezuelan defense minister had argued that there is nothing to negotiate because for Venezuela the gulf is and will always be vital:

[Sanin] We adhere to the Venezuelan Constitution that states that the president of the Republic is the one who establishes foreign policy.

[Reporter] Does Colombia aspire to defend its rights permanently?

[Sanin] We are not haphazardly defending Colombian rights in the Gulf of Venezuela. We are a coastal state. Part of our coastline faces the Gulf of Venezuela, and that is why we have rights that are protected by international law. They are undeniable rights. [end recording]

Peru

Government Recognizes Croatia, Slovenia

PY2503003892 Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 15 Mar 92 p 1

[Text] According to an official communique released by the Foreign Ministry yesterday, Peru has recognized the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia as independent and sovereign states.

The communique states that the president of the Republic, Alberto Fujimori, has sent separate congratulatory messages to the heads of state of the two governments for their respective countries' incorporation into the international community as free and independent states.

After expressing hope for the well-being and development of the Croatian and Slovenian peoples, the communique expresses "a desire to enhance the friendship and cooperation between our countries."

• Fujimori Comments on Relations With Chile

92SM0305B Santiago LA NACION in Spanish 17 Feb 92 pp 6-7

[Interview with President Alberto Fujimori by Pedro Vega in Lima; date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Vega] Blacker Miller, your minister of foreign relations, recently made a visit to Chile which was called successful by both countries, at the very moment when you were signing the treaty with Bolivia. What stood out from that visit?

[Fujimori] That was a mission which I personally entrusted to the minister, to put in concrete form previous contacts which I had with President Aylwin. I was very happy to see that a program of free transit has been arranged between the two countries, eliminating the need to have a visa. The objective is to resolve all pending matters which may exist. I hope that this will be accomplished very quickly. There is a political decision to do so on our part, and I see the same thing in Chile.

[Vega] Do you think that the access to the sea which Peru has just given Bolivia could have an influence on the objectives of your forthcoming official visit to Chile?

[Fujimori] More particularly it is going to consolidate our objective of achieving the effective integration of all of our countries, particularly on this side of the South American continent. I do not think that it can be interpreted in any other sense than real integration. [passage omitted]

The Example of the Chilean Model

[Vega] How would you evaluate present relations between Chile and Peru?

[Fujimori] Personally, I have a very close relationship with President Patricio Aylwin. I have had the honor of receiving a visit from him on the day when I entered office. We agree on the objectives of bringing our democracies steadily toward better living levels and of having an impact on the welfare of the people. Relationships with Chile have traditionally been fraternal.

[Vega] As a Peruvian, how do you see Chile?

[Fujimori] Here in Peru all Peruvians, and I include myself among them, look to Chile with admiration because it is setting an example. Chile has a model which is being steadily improved, and it is one of the countries with the greatest drive in Latin America.

In some areas, such as the export sector, I think that Chile has made a great deal of progress. The same is true in the field of social security, with measures which are being put into practice in other countries. As a result Chile is seen as an admirable country.

[Vega] How do you think the Chileans see Peru?

[Fujimori] I suppose that they see Peru through the pictures on the television screen, which are now available very quickly. These are pictures which generally show acts of terror and crime. The picture of reality in this country which is being received abroad is incorrect. There are very positive aspects which I believe are not known, so that my presence in Chile is going to correct some mistaken views.

[Vega] From the point of view of a free market policy, it would seem that Chile is now an important point of reference for Peruvian economic groups. In your view, is an economic model, like that of Chile, desirable in Peru?

[Fujimori] We are introducing legislation for the establishment of a free market economy. In some aspects Chile is clearly ahead of us. However, this does not necessarily mean that the Chilean model is going to be transplanted to Peru.

What we need to emphasize is that in some cases Chile has made some notable progress. I could mention the specific case of women administering social security funds. This is an excellent model on which we are working. And there are also other fields: for example, you Chileans have promoted exports very well, something which is not only to the advantage of Peru but of all of Latin America. [passage omitted]

Uruguay

Chile's Aylwin Received by Congress

PY2503004492 Santiago Radio Cooperativa Network in Spanish 2300 GMT 23 Mar 92

[Text] President Patricio Aylwin has been received at the Uruguayan Congress by senators and deputies. Here is a report by Manola Robles from Montevideo:

[Begin recording] [Robles] Good afternoon. We are welcoming you to your home as a brother, Uruguayan Congress President Gonzalo Aguirre said this afternoon, when the congressional plenum received Chilean President Patricio Aylwin. During his speech, Aguirre emphasized the two countries' common history and the participation of 21 Uruguayans in the Chabuco and Maipu battles during the war for independence, when they fought side by side with O'Higgins and San Martin.

[Aguirre] You are in your home because you are a man educated in the noble discipline of public laws and are thus a legitimate fighter for freedom, both in the majestic environment of a classroom and in the solitary authority of your office. You have known how to share and abandon both when you felt that academic teaching was not enough. Seeing that democracy had been destroyed in your country, you were called to occupy—with dignity and honor and without shunning the unavoidable risks pertinent to these situations—a position of leadership in the long struggle to reestablish freedom in your beautiful country.

[Robles] Aylwin answered Aguirre in a speech that was applauded at length by the Uruguayan congressmen.

[Aylwin] To overcome authoritarian regimes, it is indispensable to reinvent, after years of recess, a congressional coexistence based on foundations more solid than the purely confrontational concept of politics. We must accept that the valiant defense of the interests and points of view of our voters should not (?annul) our conviction

that these interests and points of view are not absolute, exclusive, or excluding truths, and that there is a common good—possibly evasive and hard to define—that calls for the pursuit of accords.

[Robles] The Chilean president thanked Uruguay, which restored its democracy before Chile, for sheltering so many Chileans who sought better conditions of life in Uruguay.

During his speech, Aylwin also discussed the economic issue.

[Aylwin] The political events that have changed the face of the world over the last two years make it clear that there is not a diversified range of development paradigms. To ignore that the market economy is proving to be the most adequate solution to the problems of this century's last decade is to act blindly and stubbornly.

[Robles] The Chilean president added that the image proposed by certain sectors, which make believe that the market economy can only be handled through a purely and dogmatic neo-liberal management, is equally false.

When he addressed the congressional plenum in Montevideo, Aylwin said that Chile cannot postpone the payment of its debt to the most destitute strata of its society. He concluded by saying that old scourges such as violence and corruption have been increasing dangerously and must be fought. [end recording]

Venezuela

Perez Economic Team Members Reportedly Resign

PA2403174092 Paris AFP in Spanish 1638 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Caracas, 24 Mar (AFP)—Informed sources in the Presidential Palace announced on 24 March that several members of President Carlos Andres Perez' economic team presented their resignations in the past 24 hours.

According to the sources, Education Minister Gustavo Rossen, former manager of one of the country's largest economic groups, resigned amid rumors that the ruling Democratic Action (AD, a social democratic party), refused to have him direct the state-owned monopoly, Venezuelan Petroleum, Inc. [PETROVEN] Rossen, who has been education minister for the past three years, worked hard to organize expenditures in that sector, which employs 300,000 teachers.

The sources added that AD's rejection of Rossen would lead President Perez to reconsider the removal of young businessman Andres Sosa from his post as head of PETROVEN, something that had been considered imminent.

The privately owned Channel 4 television station reported the resignation of Central Bank President Miguel Rodriguez, the "mastermind" of the harsh neo-liberal economic plan Perez has been applying for the past three years with IMF support.

Until last February, Rodriguez had been planning minister in the Perez administration and the main negotiator of the country's foreign debt. His resignation has been officially denied.

The opposition Social Christian and Movement Toward Socialism parties reiterated on 24 March that they will ask the parliament to issue a vote of censure against Perez' economic team, despite the fact that Christian Democrat Jose Ignacio Moreno Leon joined the cabinet two weeks ago as investment fund minister.

AD, which has a majority in the parliament, will oppose the vote of censure, so the motion will not have the support of the required two-thirds of the legislature and will not lead to the dismissal of the ministers in question.

The Presidential Palace sources said that, in the framework of a ministerial reshuffle motivated by the parliamentary debate, neo-liberal technocrats Pedro Rosas (minister of finance), Jonathan Coles (agriculture), and Ricardo Hausmann (planning), reportedly have their resignations ready.

Perez Denies Rodriguez Resignation

PA2503014692 Caracas Venezolana de Television Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 25 Mar 92

[Report by Rebeca Hung Diaz]

[Text] President Carlos Andres Perez made no comment on the alleged resignation of Miguel Rodriguez, president of the Venezuelan Central Bank:

[Begin recording] [Hung] Mr. President, this is important. There have been reports that Miguel Rodriguez, president of the Venezuelan Central Bank, has tendered his resignation. [Words indistinct] held yesterday....

[Perez, interrupting] I know absolutely nothing about that, and there is nothing I can say.

[Hung] Did he resign?

[Perez] No.

[Hung] What about the president of PETROVEN [Venezuelan Petroleum, Inc.] [words indistinct]?

[Perez] I know nothing about that. [end recording]

Another rumor that was denied concerned the resignation of Education Minister Gustavo Rossen, who explained that it is not the ministers who resign, but the president who decides whenever he sees fit what to do with their posts. Rossen said that he has been a member of the president's cabinet since 1989 and has reaffirmed his loyalty. His eventual appointment as president of PETROVEN, however, currently is being discussed.

[Begin recording] [Rossen] He definitely is interested in making changes at PETROVEN. He has contacts to make on this issue. These are contacts he must make, and he will speak to me later. There is no doubt that the economic situation is very complex, and PETROVEN is no exception. The price of oil has dropped, as everyone knows from local and international news. PETROVEN must assess its investment plans because of their effect on the general national economy. As a member of the social-economic cabinet, I have seen how difficult it is to straighten out the national budget in light of the fiscal deficit—which is reason enough for concern in 1992. [end recording]

When asked about the university strike, Minister Rossen said that he could find no explanation, given the fact that professors have received a 21-percent salary increase and that a payment system will be studied this year. He called on them to reflect on the banging of pots and pans, which is directed at the government, and also on the strikes, which are reason for uncertainty and frustration for students as well as for parents.

Two Supreme Court Justices Reportedly Resign

PA2403235392 Paris AFP in Spanish 2204 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Caracas, 24 Mar (AFP)—Justices Jesus Moreno Guacaran and Adan Febres Cordero resigned on 24 March from the Supreme Court of Justice (CSJ) of Venezuela, which has 15 members, sources close to the courts have reported. The resignation of the justices came after that of former CSJ president Pedro Alid Zoppi, who retired in keeping with the law.

The resignations change the correlation of forces during the time when the CSJ will decide whether to try former President Jaime Lusinchi (1984-89), a social democrat, and his fellow deputy Antonio Rios, president of the Confederation of Venezuelan Workers [CTV], for alleged corruption, sources said. Until now, the correlation of forces within the CSJ favored Rios and Lusinchi.

The CSJ was the institution most harshly criticized for its alleged leniency in the corruption cases, which took place before and after the foiled 4 February coup attempt.

With the approval of President Carlos Andres Perez, the leadership of the largest parties decided to appoint five new justices to replace those whose official nine-year terms are about to expire. Several justices have voiced their disagreement with the decision of the party leaders because they have only been in office for eight years.

Ochoa Denies Turning Over Seized Weapons to AD

PA2503123092 Paris AFP in Spanish 2053 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] Caracas, 24 Mar (AFP)—Venezuelan Defense Minister General Fernando Ochoa has denied that weapons seized from the military who participated in the 4 February coup have been turned over to activists of President Carlos Andres Perez's party, Democratic Action (AD).

"I adamantly deny this," Division General Ochoa said on 24 March in statements to the media.

Radical leftist Deputy Pablo Medina reported that the Directorate of Intelligence and Prevention Services (DISIP) gave AD groups many of the weapons recovered west of Caracas, adding that ruling party members are reportedly preparing self-defense militias. The alleged AD militias are reportedly being comprised of the ruling party's belligerent groups, known as the "cabilleros," whom the left accuses of helping disrupt an antigovernment rally on 10 March in Caracas.

Ochoa said that "the Armed Forces are in charge of offensive weapons in Venezuela, but we do not take them out of the barracks." Ochoa stated his belief that a subversive group had received the rifles and machine guns (between 40 and 70, according to several reports) taken from a Caracas garrison by an Army lieutenant and several civilians shortly after the coup was foiled.

"One cannot understand why an officer would steal some weapons, except if the goal is to deliver them to subversive groups," the minister commented.

Comments on Armed Forces, DEA

PA2403191792 Caracas Venezolana de Television Network in Spanish 1550 GMT 24 Mar 92

[Text] After meeting the morning of 24 March with President Carlos Andres Perez, Defense Minister General Fernando Ochoa Antich reiterated that there is absolute normalcy in the Armed Forces. Ochoa Antich denied that DEA agents will come to Venezuela to control the country's political situation and violate national sovereignty, as Enrique Rivas Gomez, former president of the National Commission Against Illegal Drug Use, has said.

[Begin recording] [Ochoa Antich] The national government, the Armed Forces, and all Venezuelans have a clear concept of our sovereignty, and we see to it that it is respected under all circumstances.

[Unidentified reporter] Is it true you had an argument with President Perez over your statements to Marcel [name indistinct]?

[Ochoa Antich] I have just talked with the president in a most pleasant and cordial manner, as usual. On 23 March, when I visited the De Armas Publishing Group, I made a statement, and I wish to ratify it clearly at this time. If President Perez were to resign, this would lead to a crisis of unforeseen consequences for Venezuela.

[Reporter] You are denying any possibility that the United States wants to infiltrate agents into the country through the DEA, under the pretext of drugs, to control the political situation?

[Ochoa Antich] There is a long stretch between wanting to do something and actually being able to do it. I do not know what the DEA might want. I can firmly state that the national government, the Armed Forces, and Venezuelans will never accept any interventions in the internal affairs of our country. [end recording]